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1800—1900

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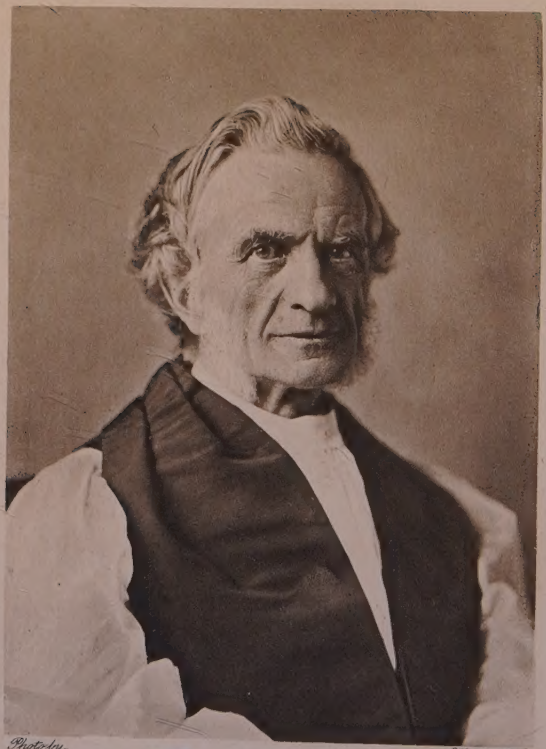

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LEADERS OF THE CHURCH

1800–1900

EDITED BY GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL

BISHOP WESTCOTT

BY

JOSEPH CLAYTON

Author of "Father Dolling: a Memoir"

GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
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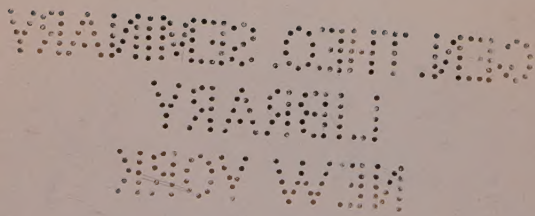

TO

H. A. KENNEDY, M.A.

SOMETIME VICAR OF ALL SAINTS'

LEEDS

IN FRIENDSHIP

GENERAL PREFACE

IT seems expedient that the origin and scope of this new Series of Biographies should be briefly explained.

Messrs. A. R. Mowbray and Co. had formed the opinion that Ecclesiastical Biography is apt to lose in attractiveness and interest, by reason of the technical and professional spirit in which it is generally handled. Acting on this opinion, they resolved to publish some short Lives of "Leaders of the Modern Church," written exclusively by laymen. They conceived that a certain freshness might thus be imparted to subjects already more or less familiar, and that a class of readers, who are repelled by the details of ecclesiasticism, might be attracted by a more human, and in some sense a more secular, treatment of religious lives.

This conception of Ecclesiastical Biography agreed entirely with my own prepossessions; and I gladly acceded to the publishers' request that I would undertake the general superintendence of the series. I am not without the hope that these handy and readable books may be of some service to the English clergy. They set forth the impressions produced on

the minds of devout and interested lay-people by the characters and careers of some great ecclesiastics. It seems possible that knowledge of those impressions may stimulate and encourage that "interest in public affairs, in the politics and welfare of the country," and in "the civil life of the people," which Cardinal Manning noted as the peculiar virtue of the English Priesthood; and the lack of which he deplored as one of the chief defects of the Priesthood over which he himself presided.[1]

G. W. E. RUSSELL.

S. Mary Magdalene's Day,
1905.

[1] See "Hindrances to the Spread of the Catholic Church in England," at the end of Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning.*

FOREWORD

I HAVE endeavoured in this book to give a plain account of Bishop Westcott's life and teaching, and I have dwelt more on the social and religious teaching than on the details of episcopal biography, for two reasons. First, I understand the object of this series is to present Leaders of the Church of England from the layman's point of view, and the average layman is not greatly interested in the discussion of ecclesiastical minutiæ; and in the second place, Westcott's life was remarkably even and unexciting. Rarely is life so orderly as Westcott's was. It was not torn by internal passion, nor vexed by the blows of enemies. No mental or theological crisis is recorded, no parting of the ways is arrived at. It was just the life of a man who lived well and saw good days, who kept faith with himself, with his neighbour, and with his God, without violence.

The Rev. Arthur Westcott has given us in full the story of his father's life, and has published all the chief letters the Bishop wrote.

This little book of mine cannot attempt to rival that excellent piece of biographical work,

and it was only after obtaining Canon Westcott's consent that I ventured to set about writing it.

I am greatly indebted to the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies for the help he has given me; and my best thanks are also due to the Dean of Durham, to the Rev. John Carter (Pusey House, Oxford), to Canon H. S. Holland, to my brother (Mr. T. Clayton), and to others whose assistance has been so generously given.

The Editor of this series has not only been kind enough to help me with the proofs; he has also corrected many small errors of fact, and has adjusted many broken sentences to a better literary standard. I accept these corrections and adjustments, and am glad to acknowledge them.

J. C.

Steeple Claydon, Bucks.,
February, 1906.

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Leaders of the Church

1800–1900

BISHOP WESTCOTT

CHAPTER I

The Schoolboy

BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT was born in Bloomsbury, Birmingham, on January 12, 1825, and, save for a few years spent at Erdington, a village near by, (where the curate, the Rev. T. Short, prepared him for school,) and for the holidays, all his boyhood was passed in that city. He was the only surviving son of Frederick Brooke Westcott, a Birmingham manufacturer — a studious, scientific man, keenly interested in geology and botany—and Sarah his wife, daughter of William Armitage, another well-respected manufacturer. Mr. Westcott's scientific knowledge must have been considerable, for he acted for some years as Hon. Secretary of the Birmingham Horticultural Society, delivered lectures on botany and vegetable physiology at the Sydenham

Medical School, Birmingham, and compiled, with G. B. Knowles, *The Floral Cabinet and Magazine of Exotic Botany*, a book useful in its day, and now rare and valuable.

Bishop Westcott's grandfather, Brooke Foss Westcott, was an officer in the Army, and his great-grandfather, Foss Westcott, served the Honourable East India Company at Madras, and lies buried in Cobham Church in Kent.

At twelve years of age Westcott entered King Edward VI's School in Birmingham, and he remained there till the time came to leave for Cambridge in 1844. At the end of two years he arrived at the highest form in the school, and passed into the immediate care of the Head Master, James Prince Lee, afterwards first Bishop of Manchester. Lee was at once favourably impressed by young Westcott's school-work, and a strong mutual regard sprang up in those years between the boy and the Head Master. On more than one occasion in later life Westcott declared his passionate admiration of Lee's character and gifts. In 1870, when his old Schoolmaster was just dead, Westcott wrote in the *Guardian* :—

"I almost despair of explaining how our devotion to him was created in us. It certainly did not come from the acceptance of definite opinions, for we were almost forced to be independent ; nor yet from the recollection of instruction in detail, for our instruction in this respect was even desultory and irregular ; but

it was rather kindled (no other image will convey my feeling) by contact with a mind which revealed to us in every lesson that intellectual and moral warmth which is the evidence and the source of the highest life. We recognized magnificent power, wide interests, large sympathy, inexhaustible freshness, stern justice, and, above all, an invincible faith in the laws of thought and in the laws of language. . . . He produced among us an enthusiasm for work which he himself rejoiced to trust. He made us feel that there was something which we could do, and not only something which we could receive. He familiarized us with the original sources of criticism and history by giving us free access to his splendid library. He encouraged us by his breadth of illustration to make every individual taste minister some element to the fulness of our common work. He enabled us to see that scholarship is nothing less than one method of dealing with the whole problem of human existence, in which art and truth and goodness are inextricably combined. It may be from the direction which my own studies have since taken, that I always recall with the liveliest gratitude his lessons in the Greek Testament. It seemed to me at the time, as it still seems, that all our other teaching was consummated in these, and that in them there was a centre of unity to which all else converged. . . . It was an incalculable advantage to be led to examine for ourselves the actual

sources of the sacred text, to investigate its language with honest and true faith in the significance of every detail of expression and arrangement, to find in historical theology the crown of scholarship."

Twenty-three years later, in 1893, Bishop Westcott, then an old man of seventy, visited Birmingham to attend the opening of a new girls' school on King Edward's Foundation, and his speech on that occasion included a glowing tribute to Prince Lee. It is well to recall some of this testimony, for it reveals how much Westcott felt he was indebted to the famous Head Master of King Edward's School :—

"When I desire to express my best and loftiest wishes for the Foundation to which I owe the preparation of my life's work, it is natural I should look back to my own master, James Prince Lee—superior, as I believe, among the great masters of his time—for the guidance of my thoughts. Some things never grow old. His presence, his voice, his manner, his expression, have lost nothing of their vivid power in half a century. I can recall, as if it were from a lesson of yesterday, the richness and force of the illustrations by which he brought home to us a battle-piece of Thucydides, with a landscape of Virgil, or a sketch of Tacitus ; the eloquence with which he discoursed on problems of life and thought suggested by some favourite passages in Butler's *Analogy* ; the depths which he opened to us in the inexhaust-

ible fulness of the Apostolic words ; the appeals which he made to our highest instincts, revealing us to ourselves, in crises of our school history or in the history of the nation. We might be able to follow him or not ; we might, as we grew older, agree with particular opinions which he expressed, or not ; but we were stirred in our work, we felt a little more the claims of duty, the pricelessness of opportunity, the meaning of life. . . . He made us feel that in all learning we must be active and not receptive only. . . . He encouraged us to collect, to examine, to arrange facts which lay within the range of our own reading for his use in dealing with some larger problem. In this way we gained, little by little, a direct acquaintance with the instruments and methods of criticism, and came to know something of confident delight in using them. There was, we rejoiced to discover, a little thing which we could do, a service which we could render, in offering which we could make towards the fulness of the work on which we were engaged. . . . We had in those days for the most part simple texts of the classics—the editions of Tauchnitz or Trubner, without note or comment. Every difficult phrase was, therefore, a problem ; and grammars and lexicons were the only helps at hand for the solution of it. But we were trained to recognize the elements with which we had to deal, and to trust great principles of interpretation. Such discipline could not fail

to brace and stimulate; and, lest our zeal should flag, the few English commentaries which existed were made to furnish terrible warnings against the neglect of thoroughness and accuracy. For 'Mr. Lee'—that was the simple title by which we always thought of him to the last—had an intense belief in the exact force of language. . . . In translating we were bound to see that every syllable gave its testimony . . . and, if I am to select one endowment which I have found precious for the whole work of life beyond all others, it would be the belief in words which I gained through the severest discipline of verbal criticism. Belief in words is the foundation of belief in thought and of belief in man. Belief in words is the guide to the apprehension of the prophetic element in the works of genius. . . . But the strictest precision of scholarship was never allowed by our master to degenerate into pedantry. Scholarship was our training—and I have not yet found any better—but he pressed every interest of art or science, of history or travel, into its service. The welcome greeting after the holidays was, 'Well, what have you read? What have you seen?' The reward of a happy answer was to be commissioned to fetch one precious volume or another from his library—I can see their places still—in order to fix a thought by a new association. So we grew familiar with the look of famous books, and there is, I believe, an elevating

power even in such outward acquaintanceship. Then came lectures on art and archæology and physics, which he enabled the senior boys to attend. . . . I can remember watching in the darkened theatre of the Philosophical Society for the first public exhibition of the electric light in Birmingham. . . . I remember, too, a striking series of lectures on painting by Haydon, and one sentence in them suggested a parable which I often ponder. 'Look,' he said, pointing to a beautiful chalk drawing of Dentatus by his pupil, Leach, 'it has no outline. There is no outline in nature.' 'There is no outline in nature'—is not this parable worth pondering? I lay stress on this wider, if more fragmentary, teaching, because I believe it was essential to our master's view of his work, and that it is still the most effective way of awakening dormant powers."

So Bishop Westcott spoke of Prince Lee, and no more vivid picture of his own school-days at Birmingham could well be given.

From an article in *Edgbastonia*, we get some impressions of Westcott, the schoolboy, from the pens of contemporaries at King Edward VI's School :—

He is remembered as "a shy, nervous, thoughtful boy from the first," "seldom, if ever, joining in any games." "His sweet, patient, eager face;" "his intensity and keenness of look;" "his habit of shading his eyes with one hand while he thought;" "his quick and eager

walk, with head bent forward ; his smile, wonderfully winning then, as in later life ; his devotion to work, and his fainting once in school, in consequence," are recalled. We are told of the "authoritative decision" of his answers in class ; his conversation out of school about things "which very few schoolboys talk about—points of theology, problems of morality, and the ethics of politics." His younger schoolfellows regarded him with a certain awe as one altogether above themselves, and his influence over them was as good as it was great. Thus one writes: "One of the chief features of his School life was his reverence. To see his pained face, when any wrong or rash word was spoken, was a lesson." And another writes : "The beauty of his character shone out from him, and one felt his moral goodness in his presence." And a third : "An atmosphere of right and purity surrounded him, and his smile, and kindness, and courtesy, which was real and constant to any small boy who had to do with him, only made us feel that it would be unbearable to rouse his anger or even disapproval."

In 1842, with two of his school friends, C. Evans and J. S. Purton (both distinguished scholars in after years), Westcott started and edited *King Edward the Sixth's Magazine*, and a sentence in the first number sets forth that the aims of the new venture are (among other things) "to give a somewhat higher tone to a schoolboy's standard of morality, and to infuse

a better spirit into his everyday conduct towards his companions." If these were not Westcott's own words they certainly stood for his faith and practice at King Edward's. A brief history of the School, which appeared in this magazine, was the work of Westcott, and was, in fact, his first printed essay.

Westcott's life-long interest in political questions began at Birmingham. As a very small boy he had seen the great demonstrations in favour of the first Reform Bill, and his years at school were the years of the Chartist Movement. He saw Thomas Attwood, and heard Feargus O'Connor, and, while young Westcott would go without his dinner to hear the agitator speak, his opinion of the latter was severely unfavourable. There were riots in Birmingham in 1839, and exciting Chartist meetings in the famous Bull Ring, and arrests of speakers, and large numbers of soldiers were brought into the town to prevent meetings being held. All these things Westcott observed and pondered, and though neither in youth nor age was he a Radical in his politics, he early noted and deplored the anti-social bitterness, and the ugly separations of class from class in England, and longed for the recognition of common responsibilities, and the setting-up of fellowship among men. Bishop Westcott often referred to those stormy days of his boyhood, and to the introduction to the "Condition-of-England Question" that Chartism gave him. He

recalled in his speech to the Northumberland miners at their Gala Day at Blyth in 1894, that during his School and College life he had followed the history of Chartism, and had seen houses burnt down in Birmingham and the streets occupied by soldiers. And at the very last visit paid to Birmingham, in 1898, Bishop Westcott, addressing the Christian Social Union, spoke of the stirring years of his boyhood :—

"We who passed through them dimly felt that the old order was changing and that a revolution was going on about us of which the form and the issue could not be foreseen. The first public event of which I have a clear recollection, was the meeting of the Political Union on New Hall Hill in 1831 ; and I can see now the Crown and Royal Standard in front of the platform, which reassured my child's heart, troubled by wild words of violence and rebellion. The Chartist Movement followed soon after. I listened to Feargus O'Connor and saw the blackened ruins in the Bull Ring guarded by soldiers. Then came the Corn Laws Agitation and the Factory Acts. The Young England Party strove to mitigate the antagonism of classes, and Disraeli described in his memorable triology, *Coningsby*, *Sybil*, and *Tancred*, the conflicts of opinion and life and aspiration by which we were surrounded. Meanwhile, the Oxford Movement was raising in new forms the fundamental questions of authority and faith, and Strauss assailed, with

unmatched power, the foundations of the Gospel. Those were stirring years. Political, economic, social, religious changes came in quick succession, and looking forward already to the work of a Priest and a teacher, I watched them with the keenest interest. I saw how movement acted upon movement, and how all the movements pointed to something deeper than any one showed ; so I recognized that I was bound to study the problems of the new age, no less than the lessons of the old world, if I was to take a just view of the office to which I aspired." [1]

Invaluable are these pieces of autobiography for those who desire to see clearly the growth and development of Westcott's mind.

Studious and reflective, spending his holidays mostly in country rambles in search of old churches and famous ruins, and filling sketch-books with careful drawings, caring more for natural history and poetry, than for any school-boy sport, Westcott passed through the seven years at King Edward's School, and then left for Cambridge with a disciplined character that already bore the impress of high ideals and strong convictions concerning justice and duty to God and man. Neither in youth nor in manhood did games or amusements attract him (though at school he confessed to a liking for chess), and even such questions as Mormonism

[1] This speech, in full, appeared under the title of "Social Service," in *The Commonwealth* for January, 1899.

—made interesting by the arrival of Brigham Young's first missionaries at Birmingham—and Positivism proved more interesting than athletics.

It must not be thought, however, that Westcott was, in any sense, a weakling. He lived long and saw good days, and few men enjoyed such freedom from sickness. But the school was a town-school, and games did not loom so large in Prince Lee's scheme of education as they do in the modern Head Master's. Scholarship, wisdom, the well-trained intellect—these were the prizes set before Edwardians sixty years ago; cricket and football had not then become a life's business for thousands, still less were these excellent games a matter of grave and absorbing interest to scholars and men of brains.

In the present rage for athletic exercises, we are apt to forget that neither physical health nor physical courage depends on such things. Westcott was a striking example of the truth that good health, and the courage, endurance, and other qualities that depend largely on good health for their existence, belong to the man or woman of orderly temperate life and well-disciplined habits, rather than to the eager follower of sports and pastimes.[1]

Young Westcott was never pugnacious, but he could handle his fists when occasion

[1] It may be remarked that Westcott was a fine skater—his sole athletic accomplishment.

demanded. One winter's day an unexpected attack on a smaller and weaker school-fellow, by a rough lad armed with stone-kernelled snowballs, provoked Westcott to lay down his books by the roadside and "go for" the assailant, whom he pummelled and drove away beaten. The small boy he championed was T. M. Middlemore-Whithard, and a strong attachment to his protector followed. The parents of the two boys were neighbours, and the friendship ripened. Very soon Westcott, then seventeen, was in love with his school-fellow's eldest sister, and this lady, Sarah Louisa Mary Whithard, ten years later became his wife, to the lasting happiness of both.

Already, then, in the Birmingham schoolboy we find the characteristics of Bishop Westcott's life—the religious and intellectual activities, nourished and fostered by Prince Lee; the lively interest in social questions, set up by the spectacle of the Chartist agitation; the intense devotion to home and family life, and to the sacredness of the marriage tie, rooted in the long courtship of his future wife.

In October, 1844, loaded with school-prizes, Westcott entered Trinity College, Cambridge.

CHAPTER II

The Undergraduate

AT Cambridge, Westcott, the studious schoolboy, grew into the scholar and the man of learning. He read hard as an Undergraduate at Trinity, rising at five; and, allowing a scanty interval for breakfast, and the usual two hours in the morning for attendance at College Lectures, he continued at his books till two, lunching on a biscuit. Then came a walk, with a friend for company, and dinner in Hall at the uncomfortable hour of four. Chapel took place at six, and, after service, Westcott settled down to his books again to read till midnight—and later.

The pleasures of social intercourse were largely omitted from such a scheme of work as this, and, indeed, Westcott was as little drawn to breakfasts or wine-parties as he was to the river or the cricket-field. It was not that he was altogether a recluse or a mere bookworm—his friendships were strong and faithful—but that he pursued his ideal of scholarship for future usefulness in the world, and his heart was in the pursuit.

Some amount of relaxation was allowed, too, and this was found in the weekly meetings of an Undergraduate circle, called "The Philological Society." At these meetings an essay was read and discussed, and abstruse topics concerning ancient Greece or Rome generally filled the programme. Westcott really enjoyed these gatherings. His close friends, J. Llewelyn Davies (afterwards Vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale), C. B. Scott (Head Master of Westminster), and D. J. Vaughan (Canon of Peterborough), were of the club, and common interests and serious religious convictions drew these four men together. "We were in the strongest religious sympathy," wrote Mr. Llewelyn Davies years later. "We were studying classics, and we were eager to gain any knowledge that might be of use to us. There were at the same time abundant differences between us as to antecedents and temperaments to make our friendships the more interesting." They were not the only notable men of that year. Professor J. E. B. Mayor, Bishop Barry, Lord Alwyne Compton (sometime Bishop of Ely), the late Dean Howson, the late Lord Derby, E. H. Bickersteth, late Bishop of Exeter, were all at Trinity in 1845, and Westcott belonged to their set.

With all his hard reading for the Examination Schools, Westcott was on his guard against the temptation to study merely for the sake of rewards and prizes, and set himself to keep

alive other interests not directly profitable. He encouraged his old love for botany, geology, and architecture, and continued to make use of his sketch-book. He read widely, too, for recreation—poetry chiefly. Westcott never had any real liking for novels. Keble's *Christian Year* he appreciated at that time with an enthusiasm which seems strange to a generation that still, indeed, buys that famous book, and bestows it on friends and pupils for a gift or a school-prize, but rarely reads it. So great, in fact, was Westcott's admiration for Keble that he, with the courage of youth, avowed his preference for the *Christian Year* to Tennyson, and held the devout Anglican singer a truer poet than Wordsworth or Goethe! The remarkable thing is that Westcott should have found time for Goethe at all; but he practised an economy of time that gave every hour its full value. He had great powers of concentration, and his memory was excellent.

Honours fell thick upon Westcott at Cambridge. In March, 1846, he won the Battie Scholarship; a month later he was elected to a Scholarship at Trinity, and in June of the same year Sir William Browne's Greek Ode Medal was awarded to him. In 1847, this Greek Ode Medal again fell to Westcott, and in addition he won the Members' Latin Essay Prize. The Ode had to be recited before Queen Victoria, and Prince Albert handed him the medal. In January, 1848,

came the Mathematical Tripos, and Westcott was placed 24th Wrangler, a position that more than satisfied him. He at once took his B.A. degree, and then in February came the Classical Tripos, and Westcott was bracketed first in the First Class with his friend C. B. Scott, to the unmitigated delight of both. The Chancellor's Medal for Classics he also obtained in the course of that year.

Distinguished as his University career was, the laurels Westcott earned and won never affected the sweetness of his character nor the deep humility of his mind. His intimate friend could write of him[1] :—

"Profoundly reverent, affectionate, single-minded, enthusiastic, blameless, he seemed to those who knew him an example of the purest Christian goodness. Cambridge can hardly have had at any time a more ideal young student."

On Sunday afternoons at Cambridge Westcott taught regularly in a Church of England Sunday School in Jesus Lane—no easy matter for one who considered such teaching as of the very first importance to England. Westcott was always anxious that Sunday School teachers should be equipped more efficiently for their work—he found his fellow-teachers at Jesus Lane dull and heavy—and it pained him as an Undergraduate, as it pained him years after-

[1] Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies in *The Cambridge Review*, Oct., 1901.

wards at Durham, to find that the teaching of Christian verities on Sundays was often a very poor and unsatisfactory performance compared with the teaching of arithmetic on week-days.

Westcott looked for help for himself and his fellow-teachers, and was disappointed; but he stuck to his Sunday School class, conscious that he was not exactly successful, and yet unwilling to abandon the task. At an earlier age he had realized the essential oneness of mankind, and the social responsibilities laid upon all: and this Sunday School teaching brought him in contact with a world different in many ways from the society of Trinity College, Cambridge, and he felt that in some slight way he was passing on to others a share of the gifts he received. A period of religious doubt and uncertainty did not make him give up the Sunday School. The Thirty-nine Articles troubled him at Cambridge, as they troubled many another loyal Anglican, and for a time even the very foundations of Christianity seemed to be shaking. But Westcott had the will to believe. The doctrine of the Incarnation of the SON of GOD appealed strongly to him, and his habits of life were temperate and well-disciplined. Neither passion nor ambition called him to break away from tradition, and his mind instinctively preferred order and obedience to revolt and revolution. Authority was always a more sacred thing in Westcott's eyes than liberty. So the doubts, and the very

real pain they caused, passed away before he took his degree, and once and for all Westcott's faith in CHRIST and in the Church of England was established—to remain unshaken till the end.

Towards Rome Westcott never had any leaning, though he confessed to an admiration for the monastic life and for the organization of the Religious Orders. The details of Roman Catholic ceremonial seemed tiresome to him, and the dramatic ritual of the Mass, with all its solemnity and beauty, made little impression upon a man who suspected the gratification of the senses as a step on a dangerous road. The idea of a visible Church of GOD on earth, and the awful necessity of finding salvation in its communion, did not strike Westcott as they struck his Oxford contemporaries. To Westcott the Kingdom of GOD was rather a fellowship in CHRIST than a society rigid in its form; and though he held to the Apostolic Succession as an outward, visible sign of necessary authority for duly-ordained ministers, it was not on the visible things that his soul dwelt, but on the invisible. The grounds of the Papal claim to obedience left Westcott unmoved; he held the Reformation to be a matter for thankfulness, not regret, and the faults in the Church of England abhorrent to Anglo-Catholics—departures from and violations of Catholic custom in public services—seemed to Westcott trivial and unimportant. Not that Westcott,

the Undergraduate, with his large views, was indifferent to small things. In matters of conduct he was unusually scrupulous for a young man, reproaching himself for wasting time if he spent an hour or two in conversation not definitely informing or edifying, denying himself music lest it should take the place of more serious pleasures, and resolutely turning his back on many common and lawful luxuries of the body in the way of food and furniture. His personal purity was unsullied. Westcott never sowed to the flesh in loose talk, base suggestion, and riotous imagination, and so never reaped the harvest of the profligate. Any hint at impurity or approval of sexual irregularity so shocked and startled him that such speech was impossible in his presence. And with the body and its affections duly submissive, Westcott's mind and intelligence had the freer play. To quote again from his friend Mr. Llewelyn Davies :—

"There seemed to be no subject of which he did not learn something, and his whole soul was in his studies. His faith possessed him and governed his whole intellectual and moral life."

For three years after taking his degree, Westcott remained at Cambridge. Private pupils came to him at once, and among the earliest of these pupils were three Trinity Scholars, two of them, J. B. Lightfoot and E. W. Benson, old Edwardians from Birmingham,

and the third, F. J. A. Hort. This was the beginning of Westcott's friendship with these three distinguished men. Lightfoot preceded him in the bishopric of Durham, Benson was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and Hort received the appointment of Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and became Westcott's co-worker in the production of the Cambridge Greek New Testament. All three men died in harness, and Westcott, though their senior, outlived them. As a private coach, Westcott was extremely successful, and his time was fully occupied with pupils. In spite of this, he succeeded in 1849 in winning the Members' Latin Essay Prize, and two years later, after being elected to a Fellowship at Trinity, he gained the Norrisian Prize with an essay on the *Elements of the Gospel Harmony*. This essay—an altogether extraordinary performance for a young man of twenty-five—has been reprinted many times, and is known to all New Testament students as *An Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, for so it was renamed by its author when he revised and enlarged it a few years later. It was Westcott's first serious literary effort, and it has remained one of his most popular books, and is now accepted as a standard work. The wide reading of Early Christian Fathers and late German critics revealed in the book, the freshness of its thought, and the depth of its religious feeling, won an immediate recognition; and when we turn over

the pages of the *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels* to-day, more than fifty years after its first appearance, we are still struck by the knowledge and the devout earnestness of the author. It is not the work of a merely learned man, and even less of an ordinary unlettered Bible-lover. It is the work of a scholar sincerely and devotedly attached to the fundamental dogmas of Christianity, who has brooded over these dogmas and known the difficulties of belief. Its author is plainly alive to the necessity for setting the reasonableness of things before people.

In 1851, his last year at Cambridge, Westcott was ordained Deacon by his old Schoolmaster, Prince Lee, then Bishop of Manchester, at Prestwich Parish Church, and six months later, at Bolton Parish Church, he received Priest's Orders. His Fellowship at Trinity was sufficient title. The cold formality of these Ordination Services depressed Westcott intensely, and it is difficult for Church people who have only witnessed the dignified ceremonial now attached by most Anglican Bishops to Confirmation and Ordination, to realize the dreary, lifeless character of these occasions fifty years ago. Even the Bible, a shabby, much-used volume, presented to the newly-ordained by the Bishop, was only a "property" Bible, and had to be returned to the authorities at the conclusion of the service. Westcott bitterly resented not being allowed to retain his Bible, and his

disappointment at the perfunctory way the whole business was conducted was not concealed. Years afterwards, when his own sons were ordained by Bishop Lightfoot in Durham Cathedral, Westcott noted the change that had come over the Church of England and its episcopate in the matter of Ordination and other services, and expressed his thankfulness at the increased solemnity and reverence in public worship.

All through these early years at Cambridge Westcott lived eminently the life of a student, and that of a student of the things of God; but that fact did not prevent his attachment to Mary Whithard from growing and ripening. The two met in the vacations and wrote weekly letters; and a year after taking his degree, Westcott was formally accepted as the engaged lover. Four years later the marriage took place.

Westcott's interest in public affairs suffered no more than his love-making from the claims of scholarship and theological reading. He could find no sympathy for Louis Philippe when that bourgeois king was dethroned in 1848, and the social contrasts of riches and misery in England made him uneasy and distressed. His loyalty to the Crown, and in particular to Queen Victoria, was then, as it was in all his after life, very pronounced, and he actually could make it an excuse for not corresponding with a friend in Ireland, in

1849, that he would hold no communication with a rebel country.

In 1851 Westcott left Cambridge, and accepted an Assistant-Mastership at Harrow under Dr. Vaughan. There was some talk of his being made Principal of the newly-established Victoria College, Jersey, and he forwarded testimonials as candidate, but he soon withdrew from competition for the post and declared his preference for Harrow.

Cambridge brought lasting friendships into Westcott's life; it tested his character and his mental powers, and he did not fail under the strain. In spite of his vast reading and his intimate friendships, few men had been less directly influenced at the University by the great writers of his time. He deliberately declined reading the works of F. D. Maurice on the ground that his own development might be more independent; and though Westcott's theology is distinctly Maurician, it was not learnt from Maurice. There is no sudden change of heart, no startling conversion, no mental crisis, in the story of Bishop Westcott's life. It was all of a piece throughout. The Birmingham schoolboy just grew into a man at Cambridge: his character became stronger, his brain more vigorous. Westcott's departure from Cambridge was a great blow to his friends. His first friends, Llewelyn Davies, David Vaughan and C. B. Scott, had already left Trinity in 1850; and it was the men he had

"coached," Benson, Lightfoot and Hort, particularly, who mourned his absence. Dr. Vaughan invited him to Harrow. He felt it was time for a change of work. Much as he loved Cambridge, it was never his part to put personal preferences before the summons of duty.

CHAPTER III

The Schoolmaster

FROM January, 1852, till Easter, 1870, Westcott was at Harrow. He was married to Sarah Louisa Mary Whithard at S. Philip's Church, Bristol, on December 23, 1852, and a few weeks later they were settled at Harrow in a small house called "The Butts." In 1863, on the death of the Rev. W. Oxenham, Westcott moved to take possession of his large house, which held some forty boarders. Westcott's school-work during those eighteen years was chiefly the correction of Sixth Form composition; he was never a form-master, and his occasional class-teaching was hardly successful. Both boys and masters felt that Westcott was not like other men.

One old Harrow pupil, Sir Charles Dalrymple, wrote in *The Harrovian* at the time of Westcott's death :—

"No doubt there was an element of mystery about Westcott in those remote days. It was, I believe, the mystery of a great reputation, of which we boys knew but little, though we were conscious of it. He was not widely known at

Harrow in those earlier years, for he was shy, reserved, sensitive, a laborious student. Nor do I think that he ever largely affected the public life of the School, though he left marks deep and ineffaceable on pupils who knew him well. It is extraordinary to realize that in 1853 he was only thirty, for he seemed to us full of learning (as indeed he was) and weighted with care. He took the Sixth Form every now and then, generally at Fourth School, and impressed us all with his earnest interest in the lesson. I fear that the Sixth Form took some liberties with him, and there was occasional disturbance, which would have been impossible in the presence of the Head Master. . . . To his own pupils, or to Sixth Form fellows who went to him with composition, the visits to his beautiful study at 'The Butts,' where he lived for some years, were a great delight, and they acted on us like a tonic. We felt, I think, that to bring poor work to him was specially inappropriate, and that we must give time of our best whatever it might be. The pains that he took; the encouragement that he gave to poor efforts; the high ideal that he set before us—these can readily be recalled. Then he would pass for a little time to pleasant talk, and if any reference to foreign travel occurred he would say, 'You remember such a cathedral and the carving at the head of the columns,' and he would hastily draw, sometimes at the corner of one's poor exercise, a lovely bit of carved foliage—there is

no doubt that his knowledge of architecture was wide and accurate—and one went away refreshed and braced from contact alike with his cultivation and his sympathy."

Another of Westcott's Harrow pupils wrote in *Edgbastonia* :—

"I remember very well that he at first rather shocked in some ways our boyish conservatism. The hurried pace with which he passed up and down the street, carried him up the school steps with a gait which was unlike the stately stride associated with the idea of a master. But even the somewhat unimpressionable mind of a lower Fifth Form boy very soon found out that he was in the presence of no common man ; and the influence he began to exercise then he has exercised ever since, upon older boys, upon Undergraduates, upon younger Graduates, and upon older Graduates. No one can have come within the sphere of his personal influence without having been most deeply impressed by it."

An article in the *Pilot* by Mr. G. W. E. Russell may well be reprinted here :—

"There will be plenty of panegyrists to describe Dr. Westcott as Critic and Author, Professor and Bishop. Comparatively few people remember him as a Schoolmaster. I look back over three and thirty years, and recall him as I first knew him at Harrow ; with his 'puny body,' anxious forehead, and faint voice, one of the few noticeable and interesting

figures in a society dominated by Convention and Commonplace. The great majority of our masters, I think, we honestly contemned, or at best regarded with a good-humoured tolerance. But there was a kind of mystery about Westcott which was distinctly impressive. He was hardly visible in the common life of the School. He lived remote, aloof, apart, above. It must be presumed that the boys who boarded in his house knew something of him, but with the School in general he never came in contact. His special work was to supervise the composition, English and classical, of the Sixth Form ; and on this task he lavished all his minute and scrupulous scholarship, all his genuine enthusiasm for literary beauty. But, till we reached the Sixth, we saw Westcott only on public occasions, and one of these occasions was the calling over of names on half-holidays, styled 'Absence' at Eton and 'Bill' at Harrow. To see Westcott performing this function made one, even in those puerile days, feel that a beautifully delicate instrument was being wasted on a rough work of mere routine, for which it was eminently unfitted. We had sense enough to know that Westcott was a man of learning and distinction, altogether outside the beaten track of schoolmasters' accomplishments ; and that he had performed achievements in scholarship and divinity which great men recognized as great. 'Calling Bill' was an occupation well enough suited to his

colleagues—for Huggins or Buggins or Brown or Green—but it was actually pathetic to see this frail embodiment of culture and piety contending with the clamour and tumult of five hundred obstreperous schoolboys.

"It was not only as a great scholar that we revered Westcott. We knew, by that mysterious process by which boys get to know something of the real as distinct from the official characters of their masters, that he was a saint. There were strange stories in the School about his ascetic way of living. We were told that he wrote his sermons on his knees. We heard that he never went into local society, and that he read no newspaper except the *Guardian*. When Dr. Liddon, at the height of his fame as the Bampton Lecturer of 1866, came to Harrow to preach on Founder's Day, Westcott would not dine with the Head Master to meet him. He could not spare three hours from prayer and study; but he came in for half-an-hour's conversation after dinner.

"All that we saw and heard in chapel confirmed what we were told. We saw the bowed form, the clasped hands, the rapt gaze, as of a man in worship who was really *solus cum Solo*, and not, as the manner of some of his colleagues was, sleeping the sleep of the just, or watching for the devotional delinquencies of the Human Boy. Various incidents, trifling but significant, went to confirm the same impression. We heard that when Westcott celebrated

the Holy Communion in the parish church, he took the Ablutions, though they were not customary there; and, after celebrating in the church in the early morning, he remained for prayer and worship in the school-chapel at the late Celebration. But it was as a preacher to the boys that he made the deepest impression. His sermons were rare events; but we looked forward to them as to something quite out of the common groove. There were none of the accessories which generally attract boyish imagination—no rhetoric, no purple patches, no declamation, no pretence of spontaneity. The voice was so faint as to be almost inaudible; the language was totally unadorned; the sentences were closely packed with meaning; and the meaning was not always easy. But the charm lay in distinction, aloofness from common ways of thinking and speaking, a wide outlook on events and movements in the Church, and a fiery enthusiasm, all the more telling because sedulously restrained. I remember as well as if I heard it yesterday a reference in December, 1869, to 'that august assemblage which gathers to-morrow under the dome of S. Peter's,' and I remember feeling, at the moment, pretty sure that there was no other schoolmaster in England who would preach to his boys about the Vatican Council. But by far the most momentous of Westcott's sermons at Harrow was that which he preached on the Twentieth Sunday after Trinity, 1868.

The text was Ephesians v. 15, 'See then that ye walk circumspectly.' The sermon was an earnest plea for the revival of the ascetic life, and the preacher endeavoured to show 'what new blessings GOD has in store for absolute self-sacrifice,' by telling his hearers about the great victories of asceticism in history. He took first the instance of S. Anthony, as the type of personal asceticism; then that of S. Benedict, as the author of the Common Life of Equality and Brotherhood; and then that of S. Francis, who, 'in the midst of a Church endowed with all that art and learning and wealth and power could give, reasserted the love of GOD to the poorest, the meanest, the most repulsive of His children, and placed again the simple Cross over all the treasures of the world.' Even 'the unparalleled achievements, the matchless energy of the Jesuits,' were duly recognized as triumphs of faith and discipline; and the sermon ended with a passionate appeal to the Harrow boys to follow the example of the young Francis or the still younger Benedict, and prepare themselves to take their part in reviving the ascetic life of the English Church.

"It may readily be conceived that this discourse did not please either the British Parent or the common schoolmaster. A rumour went abroad that Mr. Westcott was going to turn all the boys into monks, and loud was the clamour of ignorance and superstition.

Westcott made the only dignified reply. He printed (without publishing) the peccant sermon under the title *Disciplined Life*, and gave a copy to every boy in the School, expressing the hope that 'GOD in His great love, will even thus, by words most unworthily spoken, lead some one among us to think on one peculiar work of the English Church, and, in due time, to offer himself for the fufilment of it as His Spirit shall teach.' Those who remember that Charles Gore was one of the boys who heard the sermon may be inclined to think that the prayer was answered.

"Dr. Westcott's career at Harrow ended with two incidents so characteristic that they should be reproduced :—

"1. He begged, as his parting request, that a weekly Celebration might be established in the school-chapel (a request refused by the Head Master).

"2. In taking leave of the Sixth Form, he said that his best wish for them was that, whatever befell them in life, they might always retain 'a firm faith in criticism and a firm faith in GOD.'"

Amongst the boarders in Westcott's house at Harrow were the present Archbishop of Canterbury, the late Lord Bute (who always in after years, on Palm Sunday, sent a palm from his chapel to his old tutor), and Lord Dunedin, President of the Court of Session. Charles Gore, now Bishop of Birmingham, was one of

the Sixth Form boys who signed a simple address of thanks to Westcott on his departure from Harrow : a more tangible memorial had been characteristically refused. With his fellow-masters Westcott was on the best of terms. He had the greatest belief in Dr. Vaughan and Dr. Butler, the two Head Masters under whom he served, and the late Dean Farrar, then a master at Harrow, became, in especial, a very close friend of Westcott's.

The routine of School duties left little time for other labours, but Westcott made great use of the holidays for theological and literary work, and his output of writing at Harrow was very considerable.

In 1855 the *General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament* was published, and Westcott inscribed the Essay to his old Schoolmaster, Prince Lee. Eleven years later the second edition appeared, and in 1889 came the sixth edition. It has been urged by some that, in this book, Westcott yielded unnecessarily to the hostile critics of the New Testament, but those who recall his vigorous reply to the author of *Supernatural Religion*, in the preface to the fourth edition, will be satisfied that he yielded nothing that belonged to the orthodox belief of the Christian Church. If at any time Westcott seemed to neglect the defence of the outworks of Christianity it was because his faith in the invincible character of the citadel was so calm and sure. He had

builded, he was satisfied, on a Rock that no waves of criticism could destroy, and he could afford to welcome every new scientific discovery, every fresh bit of knowledge relating to the history of the Bible, every fact that revealed the truth. The purpose of the *General Survey* was "to connect the history of the New Testament Canon with the growth and consolidation of the Catholic Church, and to point out the relation existing between the amount of evidence for the authenticity of its component parts, and the whole mass of Christian literature." The author desired "to convey both the truest notion of the connexion of the written Word with the living body of CHRIST, and the surest conviction of its divine authority." He sought "to fulfil the part of an historian and not of a controversialist," with the result that those who looked for an onslaught on the German rationalists were disappointed with a volume that confessedly was devoted to the setting out of facts. This account of the Canon of the New Testament has become a standard work in theological libraries ; it is exceedingly valuable to students, and it is particularly interesting, too, because it gives us the belief in "the living body of CHRIST," which made Westcott so strong and so loyal a Churchman, and the devoted affection for the Bible, which knit him in bonds of real friendliness with the Protestant Nonconformists of England. The amount of research and

learning contained in the *General Survey* is astonishing when it is remembered that the book was the work of a busy schoolmaster just thirty years old.

In 1859 Macmillan published Westcott's first volume of sermons—*Characteristics of the Gospel Miracles*, sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, and the following year the *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, the revised and enlarged edition of his *Elements of Gospel Harmony*, appeared. Then in 1864 came *The Bible in the Church*, which professed to be a "popular" account of the collection and reception of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian Churches; in 1866 *The Gospel of the Resurrection*, and in 1869 the *General View of the History of the English Bible*. Besides writing these books Westcott contributed a number of articles to Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, and the essays on Plato, Æschylus, and Euripides, familiar to readers of his *Religious Thought in the West*, to the *Contemporary Review*.

At Harrow, Westcott for the first time was drawn to the serious study of Comte's writings, and Positivism, which had interested him as a boy, made a great impression upon him. An article on "Aspects of Positivism in Relation to Christianity," first published in the *Contemporary Review*, and now bound up as an appendix to *The Gospel of the Resurrection*, gives Westcott's appreciation of the good he recognized in Comte's theory of Religion, and shows at the

same time how infinitely more precious he felt Christianity to be.

To his friend Mr. Llewelyn Davies, Westcott wrote in March, 1867, from Harrow :—

"I have been spending all my leisure—how little—for the last nine months on the Comtists. How marvellous that it should be left for them to rediscover some of the simplest teachings of Christianity—scarcely less marvellous than that Mr. Mill should be so profoundly and sincerely ignorant of what Christianity is and of the religious significance of Comtism, as all he writes of them both proves him to be."

The Gospel of the Resurrection must on the whole, I think, take the first place in all Bishop Westcott's books ; it is at once the most striking and the most original piece of work. Mr. Llewelyn Davies assents to this, but at the same time points out that "Westcott's work on New Testament books, S. John and Hebrews and other expository work, may prove to be of most value." To those who love literature more than theology, *Religious Thought in the West* will always be the one book of Westcott's that may be read and re-read many times ; the essays on "Origen and Browning," in especial, in that volume are luminous and suggestive, and for their insight and charm worthy to rank with the masterpieces of literary criticism. Browning, indeed, was the one modern writer for whose work Westcott really cared in those days.

In an essay for the Browning Society at Cambridge he wrote :—

"Browning has dared to look on the darkest and meanest forms of action and passion, from which we commonly and rightly turn our eyes, and he has brought back for us from this universal survey a conviction of hope.

"He has laid bare what there is in man of sordid, selfish, impure, corrupt, brutish, and he proclaims, in spite of every disappointment and every wound, that he still finds a spiritual power without him which restores assurance as to the destiny of creation." [1]

In later life Westcott read Ruskin a good deal, and with full appreciation; but this never diminished his love for Browning. Over and over again in sermons and addresses we come across quotations from the great poet, and the affectionate dwelling on some favourite thought or line.

Of *The Gospel of the Resurrection*, the first thing to note is its insistence on the Resurrection as a miracle, as a new fact. The miracle is the foundation of Christianity, and a miracle is a phenomenon which "suggests the immediate working of a personal power producing results not explicable by what we observe in the ordinary course of nature." God reveals Himself through the ordinary laws of nature

[1] This paper on Browning was afterwards reprinted by the London Browning Society, and later it was published in *Religious Thought in the West.*

and through miracles, and the latter are not "unnatural," because they are not violations of law, but are manifestations of a new power working through law—"the law is not suspended, but its natural results are controlled." The mystery as to how GOD acts is left untouched in both cases. Admit the existence of a Personal GOD, of a Father watching over mankind, and the miracle is neither impossible nor unnatural. Only, Westcott urges, "the moral element in miracles is both essential and predominant." The miracles, which in one age or to one people suggest the personal working of GOD, in another age, and to another people, may not do anything of the kind. And as every true miracle must move the hearts of men to GOD, it follows that where miracles are not looked for as tokens of GOD's presence, that is, where we understand GOD already working through law, they do not take place.

"It seems certain that knowledge limits faith, not indeed as diminishing its power but as guiding its direction. For instance, when any particular physical phenomena are apprehended as subject to a clear law, which is felt to be a definite expression of the Divine Will, it is inconceivable that faith could contemplate an interference with them, not because it would be impossible, but because the prayer for such an interference would itself be disloyal. For example, it would be positively immoral for us

now to pray that the tides or the sun should not rise on a particular day. The corresponding act is represented in the Gospels as suggested by the tempter. There is even a Divine 'cannot' recognized in the Gospels as well as a Divine 'must.' But as long as the idea of the physical law which rules them was unformed or indistinct, the prayer would have been reasonable, and (may we not suppose?) the fulfilment also. . . . An age records only what it believes; but, in a certain sense also, it does what it believes."

Westcott's deep reverence for law made him shrink from the idea of violation of law by miracle. The miracle was just a manifestation of GOD, not really more inexplicable than the manifestations of GOD in nature. For the man who denied the existence of a Personal GOD working now in man and in nature the miracle, of course, was impossible; but such a man Westcott held to be of imperfect powers.

Passing from the consideration of miracles in general to the Resurrection in particular, Westcott dwells on the thought that the body of the Resurrection was in the case of CHRIST, and will be in ours, the body of this life, yet a changed body, and no longer subject to the same conditions. Westcott could not contemplate the existence of a soul unaccompanied by a body; the body was not to be cast away at death, nor the discipline and training it afforded to prove useless. Rather it was to be transfigured.

"Our present body is as the seed of our future body. The one rises as naturally from the other as the flower from the germ. 'It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption: it is sown in dishonour; it is raised in glory: it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power: it is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body.' We cannot, indeed, form any conception of the change which shall take place, except so far as is shown in the Person of the LORD. Its fulfilment is in another state, and our thoughts are bound by this state. But there is nothing against reason in the analogy. Every change of life which we can observe now must be from one material form to another equally falling under our senses; but such a change may help us to understand how a form at present sensible may pass through a great crisis into another, which is an expression of the same law of life, though our present senses cannot naturally take cognizance of it."

In an essay called *The Transfiguration of Matter*, Mr. George Barlow has brought out very forcibly the significance of Westcott's teaching on this point.

Many people after reading the *Gospel of the Resurrection*, considered Westcott a "mystic," and spoke of him as such. But Westcott himself disliked the term. In a letter to Mr. Llewelyn Davies in 1899, he wrote:—

"I don't think that I have ever used the word 'mystics'; it is so hopelessly vague, and

it suggests an esoteric teaching which is wholly foreign to the Christian. But from Cambridge days, when I delighted in Tauler, I have read the writings of many who are called mystics with much profit. Every one who believes that phenomena are 'signs' of the spiritual and eternal receives the name, and to believe in the Incarnation involves this belief: does it not? After all, the first chapter of Genesis is the Protevangelium."

School work and literary work consumed the best part of those years at Harrow, but he found time for a holiday in France in 1854, and a visit to Paris nine years later. Generally, he spent the school-holidays in England.

The publication of *Essays and Reviews* in 1860 disturbed Westcott. Strongly as he dissented from the position of the Essayists, he felt still more strongly that reaction would be provoked by the book, which would do far greater harm than the book itself. He felt that a serious reply ought to be made, something vastly different from the rude declamation of the Bishops. A mere attempt to shout down unpopular and unfamiliar opinions made Westcott particularly indignant; and he tried to persuade Hort and Lightfoot to join him in a reply to the Essayists; but Lightfoot after consideration declined the proposal, and so the scheme fell through. What Westcott desired was to show that a mean existed between the position of *Essays and Reviews* and Traditionalism. He

was satisfied that such a mean existed, and that a large body of loyal Churchmen would welcome a statement that took for its basis the Incarnation of CHRIST, with all that the Incarnation implied. The crisis caused by *Essays and Reviews* passed, and one of the foremost Essayists lived to become Archbishop of Canterbury, and to see many other Church crises arise and melt away. *Essays and Reviews* seem dull, moderate reading to-day, and it is difficult to realize the storm they raised forty-five years ago. Probably the "Church crisis" of our time, chiefly the sport of irresponsible pressmen, will appear equally mysterious to future generations.

In the year of *Essays and Reviews* Westcott took an *ad eundem* degree at Oxford; the visit gave him considerable pleasure. At Dr. Jeune's house, where he stayed, Westcott met Dr. Pusey and Nassau Senior, the political economist, and enjoyed, as he said, to see "gentleness and simplicity well matched with cynicism and wit."

The following year the Hulsean Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge fell vacant, and Westcott was anxious to become a candidate for the post. But learning that Lightfoot, then a Tutor at Trinity, was also thinking of standing, and both men agreeing that Lightfoot had the better chance, he at once withdrew and Lightfoot was elected. Ten years later Lightfoot stood aside from becoming a candidate for

the Regius Professorship of Divinity, and did his utmost—and successfully—to secure Westcott's election to that office.

Westcott rarely preached at Harrow, seldom more than once a term, and his school sermons have not been published. At the weekly "Masters' Meetings," too, he sat a silent member. But the "School Singing" which John Farmer and Edward Bowen worked so hard to popularize at Harrow received his enthusiastic support, and he wrote several school songs in Latin—"Io Triumphe!" "Decor Integer," "Lenimen dulce," "Strenua," and others.

In the last years at Harrow Westcott's heart was set on a plan for a "Cœnobium," for a Community life, an association of families, not individuals, bound together in voluntary co-operation to live frugally, to work, and to pray. The Rev. Arthur Westcott tells us in his *Life and Letters of Bishop Westcott* how he and his brothers "viewed the establishment of the 'Cœnobium,' with gloomy apprehension, not quite sure whether it was within the bounds of practical politics or not. I was myself inclined to believe that it really was coming, and that we, with the Bensons (may be), and Horts, and a few other families, would find ourselves living a Community life. Whenever we children showed signs of greediness or other selfishness, we were assured that such things would be unheard of in the 'Cœnobium.' There the

greedy would have no second portions of desirable puddings."

The "Cœnobium" was not established, but Westcott's horror of luxury and ostentation in private life, and his acute sense of the responsibility of personal expenditure remained to the end. His son tells us that the Bishop "could never to the end of his life reconcile himself to dining late." Later, in his cordial support of the Co-operative Movement, Westcott found some outlet for the feeling and energy which had prompted the idea of the Community life.

CHAPTER IV

Canon of Peterborough

IN 1856 Arthur Stanley suggested to Dr. Tait, then just appointed to the See of London, that he should make Westcott an Examining Chaplain, but nothing came of the proposal, and it was not until the autumn of 1868 that the first offer of an ecclesiastical appointment in the Church of England came to Westcott; and then it came from Dr. Magee, just appointed to the Bishopric of Peterborough, an Irishman. Bishop Magee invited Westcott to become one of his Examining Chaplains, and in December of the same year, when a Canonry at Peterborough Cathedral became vacant, he asked Westcott to fill it. To leave Harrow for Peterborough was to suffer a loss of income, and Westcott had already several sons for whom education must needs be provided; but after a few days' consideration he accepted the offer, and was duly installed in his Canonry on the Feast of the Epiphany, January 6, 1869. The following August he entered on residence first time, and his voice, which had seemed hardly equal to the

task of preaching in Harrow School Chapel, was found strong enough for the large congregation of Peterborough Cathedral. It was wonderful how Westcott made himself altogether fit for whatever post he was called to fill. His physical powers in the matter of speaking and preaching increased enormously as circumstances required that a bigger effort should be made, and right on in old age he made himself heard plainly and clearly at the Albert Hall and in S. Paul's Cathedral.

In 1870 Bishop Magee offered Canon Westcott the Archdeaconry of Northampton, but the preferment was declined. Westcott still hoped for a Professorship at Cambridge, which could be held with a Canonry : to have become an Archdeacon would have left no time for work at Cambridge. The increase of income would have been welcome, and Westcott considered that life might be put into the Archdeacon's office, but on the whole he thought it better to decline, and wait in the hope of some recognition from his University. Dr. Lightfoot approved his decision, and events justified it ; for that very year came the call to the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge. When the vacancy occurred on Professor Jeremie's resignation, Canon Westcott urged Lightfoot to stand, but Lightfoot refused, and Westcott was elected. The duty at Peterborough could be well combined with the Professor's work, and Canon Westcott was

always in residence at the cathedral during the three months of the Long Vacation.

For fourteen years Canon Westcott laboured hard to infuse a new spirit into the cathedral and its services. At the very outset he was distressed by the lifeless character of the place, and its apparent uselessness. One of his first steps was to start an eight o'clock morning service in one of the side chapels, and he induced the Chapter to institute an early Celebration on Saints' Days.

In *Macmillan's Magazine* in 1870 Canon Westcott published some articles on "Cathedral Work," and he expressed in these articles his belief that "systematic devotion and corporate action" should be the foundation of cathedral life, and the needs of "theological study and religious education" decide the work. In this belief all his efforts at Peterborough were made. He was constant at the daily services, he enjoyed conducting parties round the cathedral, and his relations with the Dean and Chapter and with all the members of the cathedral staff were, on the whole, of the happiest. Of course, there was some grumbling among the older men of the cathedral choir, especially at the introduction by Westcott of the *Paragraph Psalter*, and at his organization of a voluntary choir for Sunday evening services; but the *Paragraph Psalter* soon came to be appreciated, and from the voluntary choir sprang the Peterborough Choral Society.

The *Paragraph Psalter* was arranged by Westcott in order that the chanting might be more intelligible. This is explained in the preface :—

"It is evident, upon the least reflection, that no one uniform method of chanting can be applicable to the whole Psalter. Sometimes the verses are separately complete ; sometimes they are arranged in couplets, sometimes in triplets ; sometimes they are grouped in unequal but corresponding masses. In most cases the verses consist of two members, but not unfrequently they consist of three or four. If, therefore, the Psalms are sung antiphonally on one method in single verses, or in pairs of verses, the sense must constantly be sacrificed : and the music, instead of illuminating the thought, will fatally obscure it."

To raise the standard of cathedral services, and to make the cathedral not only a real house of prayer for all people, but also the very centre of the religious and intellectual life of the diocese, was Westcott's aim. It was to be a place of training for theological students, too, and every year a number of young men from the Universities were drawn to Westcott at Peterborough to prepare for Ordination. Canon Scott Holland has given us his recollections of those days :—

"My first sight of him (Canon Westcott) had been in Peterborough Cathedral, all but thirty years ago. I had gone with a friend to

read with him for Deacon's Orders. He was giving Lectures on S. John in a side chapel; and all through the first lecture we could hardly believe our eyes. This tiny form, with the thin small voice, delivering itself, with passionate intensity, of the deepest teaching on the mystery of the Incarnation to two timid ladies of the Close, under the haughty contempt of the solitary verger, who had been forced to lend the authority of his 'poker' to those undignified and newfangled efforts—was this really Dr. Westcott? We had to reassure ourselves of the fact, as we emerged, by repeated asseverations that it certainly must be.

"Then, the first interview revealed where the secret of his power lay. We had never before seen such an identification of study with prayer. He read and worked in the very mind with which he prayed; and his prayer was of singular intensity. It might be only the elements of textual criticism with which he was dealing; but, still, it was all steeped in the atmosphere of awe, and devotion, and mystery, and consecration. He taught us as one who ministered at an altar; and the details of the Sacred Text were to him as the Ritual of some Sacramental Action. His touching belief in our powers of scholarship used sometimes to shatter our self-control; and I well remember the shouts of laughter which we just succeeded in mastering until we found ourselves outside in the moonlit Close, when he confessed his

disappointment at our not recalling the use of a certain verb in the *Clementine Homilies*—we who, at that moment, had but the dimmest conception what the *Clementine Homilies* might be. Sometimes he would crush us to the dust by his humility, as when, after we had gaily turned off, at a moment's notice, our interpretation of some crucial passage in S. John, he would confess, in an awe-struck whisper, that he had himself never yet dared to put down on paper his own conclusion of the matter." [1]

A story was told at Peterborough that, once when a candidate for Ordination who had received an explanation of some difficult point, said, "Thank you, Canon Westcott; now I understand all about it," the Examining Chaplain answered entreatingly, "Not *all* about it, I hope, Mr. ——, not *all* about it."

The death of Bishop Prince Lee, early in 1870, moved Westcott to write some account of his last interview with his old Schoolmaster; and so he describes in the *Guardian* a visit to Manchester a few years earlier:—

"The health of the Bishop was already greatly shaken, but his intellectual power was never greater. In his intervals of leisure he returned to each old topic of interest. Now it was the famous variation in Luke ii. 14; now the almost prophetic character of Æschylus, on whom I happened to be working at the time; now a volume of sketches from old masters, in

[1] *Personal Studies*, by H. S. Holland, D.D.

which he showed me the outline of Thorwaldsen's famous *Night* (owl and all), already given in a drawing (unless I am mistaken) by one of the Caracci ; now it was the work of Arnold, on which he delighted to dwell with loving admiration ; now some aspect of diocesan labour in which he saw a bright promise of hope. One evening I can never forget. We had dined alone. There had been the usual rich variety of subjects in his conversation ; playful quotations from Thucydides and Aristophanes and Virgil, in memory of school days ; a clear summary of the latest results of the explorations of Palestine ; an estimate of the moral influence of Shakespeare (which, to my surprise, he judged somewhat unfavourably). As the evening closed in, the topics became graver. We spoke of some of the difficulties of belief ; of future punishment—and, in illustration of the instinctive promptings of the heart, he quoted the line, which he always called one of the noblest ever written, *Virtutem videant intabescantque relictâ ;* of modern critical theories—and here only he used some stern words in condemning some untrained and hasty speculators. Then came a long and solemn pause, while his thoughts, I fancy, no less than mine, were pondering on the relation of Biblical controversies to the fulness of Christian faith. At last the Bishop turned his eyes on me—they were overflowing with tears—with a look which clings to me now, and said only this :

'Ah! Westcott. Fear not, only believe' (*S. Mark* v. 36). It was enough. The words have risen again and again before me in times of anxiety and doubt, charged for ever with a new force; and what would I not give if I could convey to others the impression which they conveyed to me, crowning with the grace of complete self-surrender and child-like faith the character which through long years I had learned to revere and love for power, for breadth, for insight, for justice, for sympathy!"

Westcott was fond of preaching courses of sermons, and three such courses delivered at Peterborough were subsequently published by Macmillan—*The Christian Life, Manifold and One* (a small volume inscribed to Westcott's cathedral friends, Dean Saunders, Archdeacon Davys, and Canons Argles and Pratt), *The Revelation of the Risen Lord*, and *The Historic Faith*—a series of addresses on the Apostles' Creed. *The Historic Faith* is one of the best known of Westcott's books. It is written in simple language, and should dispel the charge of obscurity brought against Westcott by those who are not inclined to read his works. Six editions were published, and the volume has recently been reissued in sixpenny form. In his preface the author declares his conviction that "the Apostles' Creed in its main substance represents the Baptismal Confession of the middle of the second century."

The Historic Faith is addressed to those who

accept the Creed as true, and it must strike the ordinary Churchman (and those Nonconformists who accept the Apostles' Creed) reading its pages how very much more that Creed implies, how much fuller and more luminous the Christian life appears to a man like Westcott, who had pondered deeply the mysteries of existence, than to the verbalist and formalist of the Church. Westcott makes us realize that as an illumination and inspiration of life, there is so much more to be said for Christianity than either its disciples or opponents commonly admit. Many passages in *The Historic Faith* stand out boldly before me. One is on atheism :—

"There is—most terrible thought—a practical atheism, orthodox in language and reverent in bearing, which can enter a Christian Church and charm the conscience to rest with shadowy traditions, an atheism which grows insensibly within us if we separate what cannot be separated with impunity, the secular from the divine, the past and the future from the present, earth from heaven, the things of Cæsar from the things of God."

Another is on Faith :—

"The highest form of Faith is religious Faith, by which we acknowledge that there is a divine purpose of wisdom and love being wrought out in the world, and that we are called upon and enabled to co-operate towards its fulfilment."

"*I believe in God.* To say this is to confess that there is, in spite of every unpunished sin, every fruitless sorrow (as we judge), one purpose of victorious righteousness being fulfilled about us and in us, one purpose able to reconcile justice and mercy in the complete accomplishment of the destiny of creation."

Westcott's religion made him keenly alive to the events of his time, for his GOD was a living GOD, moving and working in the world, and so the outbreak of the Franco-German War in 1870 drew a powerful sermon from him—a sermon which was published under the title of *Our attitude towards the War.*

In a letter to Mr. Llewelyn Davies, written at this time, Westcott said :

"I cannot, on the evidence before me, find that France is much more to blame than Prussia, if at all. This war is but the second act of the Austrian War, and as far as I could judge that war was more unjustifiable than the Italian War. Probably Bismarck is much more adroit than Louis Napoleon. But I do not think that he is one bit more honest or more patriotic. Prussia was obviously no less unwilling to submit to arbitration than France, and even if it were otherwise, we must remember that all Prussia wishes is to keep what she has unjustly seized. She has her share of the plunder already. We failed culpably to speak in the Danish War, in the war in South Italy, in the Austrian War. Now, at

length, I hope that the people will make their voice clearly heard—the Government seems helpless—and profess that nations have faith and truth."

In the same letter are these notable words: "How unnatural the destruction of small Powers really is: how pagan in essence! In this, too, Comte has seen the Christian theory of States."

In addition to the cathedral work, with its sermons and instructions, and the divinity work at Cambridge, to which we shall refer later, Canon Westcott found time, at the request of Gladstone, to sit, from 1881–1883, on the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, and to contribute articles on Clement, Demetrius, and Dionysius, for the first volume of Smith and Wall's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and an article on "Origen and the Beginnings of Christian Philosophy," for the *Contemporary Review*. He also lectured on Origen at Edinburgh in 1877. Archbishop Benson was a member of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, and we have it on Westcott's own authority that the enquiries of the Commission really defined the ideas expressed in the Archbishop's Judgment in the Bishop of Lincoln's case. Another result of the Commission was that the defenders of Catholic doctrine and Catholic practices in the Church of England found their position considerably strengthened; for the Report of the Com-

mission declared for the continuity of the Church of England, as against the view that the Church was set up at the Reformation.

Westcott's departure from Peterborough came very suddenly in May, 1883. Bishop Magee, without giving any warning, alleged that Canon Westcott had neglected his duty as Examining Chaplain for his Cambridge work, and asked him to resign the Chaplaincy and with it the Canonry. Westcott sent in his resignation at once, and did not return to Peterborough, but he pointed out that the two offices were distinct, and that in fourteen years he had only been absent from two Trinity Ordinations. That the cathedral responsibilities were compatible with the Cambridge work was amply proved by the fact that Westcott accepted an Examining Chaplaincy to Archbishop Benson immediately on leaving Peterborough, and that barely two months later he was appointed Canon of Westminster.

Throughout the diocese, and particularly in the city Canon Westcott's retirement from Peterborough was heartily regretted, and he carried away the respect and affection of all sorts and conditions of people. For Westcott's ideal of the Church was a national ideal, and he loved welcoming to the cathedral all types of national life—railwaymen, members of friendly societies, and trade unionists, volunteers, and school teachers, shopkeepers, choirs, and choral societies; for each of these he

had his word, his message of sympathy and greeting.

The friendship between Westcott and Magee was naturally broken by the step the latter had taken, but it was renewed the following summer on the Bishop's illness. No grain of bitterness or sense of personal injury could ever take root in Westcott's heart.

CHAPTER V

Regius Professor of Divinity

FOR twenty years (1870–90) Westcott filled the office of Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. The return to old scenes brought him unqualified happiness, and probably in the whole course of a long life no work was better enjoyed than the responsibilities of the Professorship. A deep attachment to the University and a particular affection for Trinity, and the fact that his friends Dr. Lightfoot and Dr. Hort were also at Cambridge, contributed largely to the pleasure which he felt. Above all, the work was after his own heart, and he was in the prime of life, vigorous and of good health. Almost immediately on his return to Cambridge, King's College elected him to a Fellowship, which he accepted with a full sense of the responsibilities due in consequence to that College. The new Professor set to work at once to raise the standard of the theological examinations in the University, and to make the D.D. degree something more than a complimentary gift, or a nominal affair within the reach of all who cared to pay the necessary

fee ; and in both directions his efforts were successful. The Act of Parliament of 1871 abolishing all religious tests for Fellowships, and thereby making it possible for Colleges to be no longer governed in the principles of the Church of England, made Westcott anxious that the University authorities should meet the new situation, and his little book of sermons *On the Religious Office of the Universities*, published in 1873, gives us his standpoint. That same year came the abolition of the Pass or "Voluntary" Theological Examination for the B.A. degree, and Westcott felt that for all those students who did not read for the Theological Tripos and yet desired Holy Orders some examination in Divinity was desirable, and that if possible this examination should be one that would satisfy the Bishops generally. With Lightfoot and Hort he set to work to draw up a scheme for a "New Theological Examination," and this scheme received the early support of the Archbishop of York, and six other Bishops. In a few years the passing of the "Cambridge Preliminary Examination" was accepted by practically all the Bishops as sufficient evidence that candidates for Ordination were qualified for the Diaconate. After this came the establishing of the Clergy Training School at Cambridge for Graduates who were preparing for Ordination, though for years the work of the School was confined to lectures and

addresses on religious subjects, with parochial work at one of the churches in the neighbourhood. In 1887 a permanent building was erected, which now bears the name of "Westcott House," to commemorate "the close connexion between Bishop Westcott and the Clergy Training School, and to record the honour and affection felt for him by all associated with him in his work in it."

The Undergraduates who attended the lectures of the Regius Professor were not many in the early seventies, but the number grew until the average reached some 300. The most famous of these lectures were those on the Gospel and Epistles of S. John, published in book form. One evening in the week Dr. Westcott devoted to those who cared to come to him for guidance in theological reading; and, though the Regius Professor was never exactly "popular" with the Undergraduates, there are many clergymen who can still recall the quiet, lasting help received at those personal visits to the teacher whose vast learning and deep devotion seemed to set him apart from other men at Cambridge.

"How many of us owe him deep gratitude," wrote a Cambridge man in *Edgbastonia*, at the time of Bishop Westcott's death, "for his wise counsel—counsel never sought in vain, but always given with ungrudging readiness, with clear insight and breadth of view."

That Westcott made the Regius Professorship of Divinity an office of influence and power in the University, to an extent not contemplated by his predecessors, is well known. The testimony of another Cambridge man who was in residence during Westcott's Professorship may perhaps be given here :—

"He has been one of those few men in each generation to whom it is given permanently to elevate the ideal of an office. Dr. Arnold has permanently raised the ideal of a Schoolmaster; the late Bishop Wilberforce may be said to have raised the ideal of episcopal activity; and I think we may fairly say, without in the least degree reflecting upon any predecessor, or any contemporary, that Dr. Westcott, by the width of his sympathy, and by the intensity of his character, has permanently raised the ideal even of that great office the Regius Professorship of Divinity."

The impression Westcott made upon some of his contemporaries may be learnt from the words uttered at a meeting in Cambridge in 1886, when a proposal was on foot for the presentation of the portrait of the Regius Professor of Divinity to the University; the proposal was duly carried out, and the portrait, painted by Sir William Richmond, hangs in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Professor Humphrey on that occasion said :—

"I cannot but think if the artist can portray

the remarkable features of that face, the magnetic influence of which I have spoken may, through it, be continued on to the University in after years. It is a face which represents with singular and forcible truthfulness the character of the man ; so full, on the one hand, of earnestness ; of earnestness toned by gentleness, and toned by an anxiety amounting almost to sorrow, an anxiety evidently to be using his efforts to do good in the utmost possible manner. And then, on a sudden, that face flashes up into a genial smile brightened by the reality of a universal sympathy, by genuine kindness, and by love for his fellow-men ; by those very qualities which give to his character the great liberality which we all know he possesses. One could wish for a portrait of each of those expressions—the intensely earnest and the unmistakably benevolent ; we could then look upon this picture and on that, and feel how complementary they are to one another, how they contribute to make up the character of that admirable man. And also one could wish to see him in another form—as he goes up and down Trumpington Street, with his books and manuscripts under his arm, looking neither to the right nor to the left, endeavouring, as it were, to overtake time, and bent seriously upon the one object before him, which one object is certain to be the prosecution of some good and useful work. It passes the power of art to combine in one all those three conditions, for

no art can give in a single picture the complete fulness of any man, and certainly no art can give the complete fulness of one who has such a large measure of fulness as Dr. Westcott."

This is a very glowing tribute, but it gives us very vividly the veneration in which Westcott was held by those of his colleagues who knew him. It was inevitable that Professor Humphrey should allude to "a magnetic influence," but the phrase is tiresome. As Father Stanton, of S. Alban's, Holborn, once said: "We speak of a man's magnetic personality, or of his magnetic influence, when we don't understand him."

Professor Stuart, M.P., the originator of the movement for University Extension Lectures—a movement which had Westcott's hearty support—also spoke in praise of Westcott at that same meeting.

"I have received," he said, "the greatest kindness from him in everything in respect of that part of the work of the University which lies beyond the limits of the University. There is no one whose sympathy has been more encouraging and more practically useful in that work. The high conception which Dr. Westcott has formed of what can be effected by the University in this and in other respects, of what its call to duty is, and of what its ultimate aim may be, and ought to be, is one of the grandest ideals I have ever come in contact with."

Deep was the respect for the Regius Professor among University authorities, but to the average Undergraduate he remained a personage of mystery. In more than one course of lectures Westcott quoted freely from those mediæval luminaries Tauler and Rupert of Deutz; and the Undergraduate audience knowing nothing of Rupert of Deutz, took to applauding when the name was mentioned. Westcott, unaware that the cheering was the mere display of boyish humour, was delighted at the reception given to his hero, and told the story of the growing popularity of Rupert among Undergraduates to his friends.

For some years Dr. Westcott was a member of the Universities' Joint Board (for Extension Lectures), and he delivered one or two notable speeches on the idea of University Extension. There was a Conference at Cambridge in 1887 to consider the Affiliation of Local Centres to the University, and Westcott in his speech gives us a glimpse of the vision in his mind. Few students, he believed, would use the privileges of affiliation "so as to come among us as our own students," yet he did believe that there would be many who would bear the title of affiliated students, and many who would bear it with honour.

"So it will be that miners in Northumbrian coalfields, artisans in Midland factories, toilers in the country, and toilers in the cities will repeat with pride what is not our motto only

but their motto also, *Hinc lucem et pocula sacra*, when they find their lives enlightened and purified, I will venture to say ennobled and hallowed, by the conception of higher education which it has been the privilege of this University to bring home to them."

At a Conference held in London the following year, by the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching, Dr. Westcott pleaded vigorously in memorable words for the highest ideals in Extension Lectures.

"These lectures supply, I trust, an agreeable recreation, but they are essentially something different. They are designed to have a serious educational use. Under this aspect, we may regard them either as a preparation for special work, or as a general intellectual discipline. I know how great is the temptation to adopt the former view; to measure the value of learning and knowledge by a material standard. But special training is not the work of a University, and, if I may speak my whole mind, I confess that I am alarmed and ashamed when I hear the results of science treated as instruments for successful competition; when I find the language, the methods, the aims of war transferred to the conditions of commerce and the circumstances of daily life. No University will lend itself to the pursuit of such an end. Universities exist to maintain and propagate a nobler faith. So far as we have entered into their spirit, we believe, and

we strive to spread the belief, that life is as the man is; that if the man is sordid, selfish, narrow, mean, his life, however affluent, will reflect his character; and, on the other hand, that there is about us an inexhaustible store of unrealized possibilities, a treasure of spiritual wealth, open to the poorest, which grows with the using, if only we know how to use it. And we believe that true education opens the eyes of the soul; that it is a strength in the difficulties which we must face; a solace in the sorrows which we must bear; an inspiration in interpreting the new truths which claim to receive from us a harmonious place beside the old; that it offers to all a vision of a larger order, truly human and truly divine; that it is not, in the noble words of your motto, 'a means of livelihood, but a means of life.'"

Unfortunately, the current of common opinion sets more and more strongly against this exalted and wholesome view of University education, and in Great Britain, in America, and in Germany, the consideration of commercial advantage now enters largely into all educational schemes. Even Oxford is yielding to the Philistines.

Besides taking an active part in the University Extension Movement, Westcott during many of those years of his Professorship was a member of the Governing body of Harrow, and of the Council of the Senate

at Cambridge. In 1881 Oxford conferred a D.C.L. upon the Cambridge Professor, and Westcott received an enthusiastic greeting in the Sheldonian Theatre.

Two questions of interest affecting the University—questions still unsettled—were as hotly discussed twenty years ago at Cambridge as they are to-day. In the discussion concerning the abolition of compulsory Greek, Westcott opposed the change, declaring that the study of that language, "regarded only as a disciplinary process, is of unique value." To the granting of degrees to women Westcott was also opposed. His view being that the education of women must necessarily be different from the education of men, he held that if it was confined at Cambridge to the membership and degrees of the University it would naturally be hindered from its proper development on its own lines. He favoured the suggestion that some independent body should be empowered to grant the degrees—if it was decided that the degrees of Oxford and Cambridge were to be conferred on women—and that this body should have power to consider and decide the special problems of the Education of Women. In later life he wanted a special University for women established, but the proposal met with little support.

Conservative in these matters affecting the University, Westcott was liberal in the question

of Church Reform, and the Memorial sent to the Bishops from Cambridge in 1885 at the instigation of the Regius Professor of Divinity urged "the admission of laymen of all classes, who are *bona fide* Churchmen, to a substantial share in the control of Church affairs."

In spite of all the official work at Cambridge, and the duties of the Canonry, first at Peterborough and then at Westminster, Dr. Westcott still found time to take part in the labours of the New Testament Revision Committee, to complete with his friend Dr. Hort a new text of the Greek Testament, and to see several volumes of sermons and lectures through the press. The first of these volumes was *On the Religious Office of the Universities*; then, 1882, came the *Introduction and Notes to the Gospel of S. John*, followed a year later by *Notes and Essays on the Epistles of S. John*. *Notes and Essays on the Epistle to the Hebrews* appeared in 1889. These three commentaries have won a famous reputation in the Church of England, and it is not too much to say that they will be read as long as English people are interested in the New Testament.

The *Introduction to the Gospel of S. John* contains a very full and very fair examination of the question of authorship of the Fourth Gospel, and the grounds for Westcott's decision that both the Apocalypse and the Gospel are the work of the same writer, and that S. John

was their author. That the Epistles attributed to S. John are rightly so attributed Westcott also maintains.

Two notes in Westcott's *S. John* must be quoted, because they contain in a few lines teaching that Westcott was apt to expand at great length :—

"The great mystery of religion is not the punishment, but the forgiveness of sin."

"Judgment is not an arbitrary sentence, but the working out of an absolute law."

The other volumes belonging to the Cambridge period include *The Revelation of the Father* (1884), *Some Thoughts from the Ordinal* (1884), *The Victory of the Cross* (1888), *Gifts for Ministry* (1889), and *The Gospel of Life* (1892). There were also two books of Westminster sermons published, *Social Aspects of Christianity* and *Christus Consummator*. *The Revelation of the Father* is not equal in force or power to the *Gospel of the Resurrection*, but it contains some of its author's most characteristic teaching, especially in the sermon on "The Light of the World."

The Victory of the Cross contains half-a-dozen sermons preached during Holy Week of 1888 in Hereford Cathedral, and is of interest because it gives us Westcott's view of the doctrine of the Atonement. This view, with a fuller discussion of Westcott's theological teaching, will be found in a later chapter.

A few sentences from the Preface to those

Cambridge Lectures, published in 1892 as the *Gospel of Life*, may be quoted here :—

"The world is not clear or intelligible. If we are to deliver our message as Christians we must face the riddles of life and consider how others have faced them."

"To some I shall necessarily appear to speak too doubtfully on questions of great moment, and to others too confidently."

"Not by one way but by many must we strive to reach the fulness of truth."

"Christianity is in life and through life. It is not an abstract system but a vital power, active through an organized body. It can never be said that the interpretation of the Gospel is final. Absolute in its essence so that nothing can be added to the revelation which it includes, it is relative so far as the human apprehension of it at any time is concerned."

The publication of Westcott and Hort's revised text of the New Testament in Greek took place in 1881. The work was begun in Cambridge, and there was something fitting in its close taking place when Westcott held the Regius Professorship. To quote *The Times* of July 29, 1901 :—

"Probably in the whole history of the New Testament since the time of Origen there has been nothing more remarkable than the quiet persistence with which these two Fellows of Trinity—Westcott aged twenty-eight and Hort

some three years younger—started 'in the spring of 1853' to systematize New Testament criticism. . . . It says something at once for their determination and their care that the two famous volumes were not published till 1881, twenty-eight years from their inception. True, the lion's share of the accomplishment was due to Hort, who wrote the masterly statement of their principles of criticism in the second volume; but the importance of Westcott's co-operation appears from the declaration of the two authors that their 'combination of completely independent operations' enabled them 'to place far more confidence in the results than either could have presumed to cherish had they rested on his own sole responsibility.' To Westcott also must be given the merit of having by his earnest cheerfulness kept up the courage of his shy and nervous colleague."

A few days after the publication of the Westcott and Hort Greek Testament, the Revised Version of the New Testament was issued. Westcott and Hort and Lightfoot were all members of the Revision Company, which sat for eleven years. Before accepting a place in the Company Westcott was anxious that the text of the New Testament itself should be more carefully revised before a new translation was made, but as this was not part of the plan, Westcott yielded, and resolved to make the best of the business.

At the outset the work was nearly wrecked by the Bishops in Convocation, and it was really the firm stand made by Westcott and his Cambridge allies that enabled the Revision to proceed. The incident that provoked the Bishops is ancient history now, but it must be related.

Westcott suggested to Dean Stanley that a Corporate Communion of the members of the Revision Company should be celebrated in Westminster Abbey before the first meeting of the Revisers, and Dean Stanley at once agreed on condition that *all* the members of the Company were invited. The fact that there were several Presbyterian members of the Company did not seem to Westcott any reason for exclusion from the Communion, and probably had the Presbyterians been the only non-Anglicans no more would have been heard of the matter. But a Unitarian member of the Company was also invited and duly received the Communion at the celebration in Westminster Abbey—to the scandal of orthodox Church-people. To satisfy the outcry the Upper House of Convocation passed a resolution declaring that no one who denied "the Godhead of our LORD JESUS CHRIST" ought to be allowed to take part in the Revision of the New Testament.

Westcott was furious at this attempt to interfere with the constitution of the Company, and the protests of the Cambridge group saved

the situation. Westcott and Lightfoot would certainly have resigned had Convocation overridden the Revision Company.

Westcott's love for the text of the New Testament amounted to a passion. He was jealous for its purity, and the labours he spent on its revision he counted a matter for thankfulness. He felt the privilege of working at such a task to be of the highest. His respect for those critics who were unfavourable to his Greek Testament and to the Revised Version was measured by his estimate of their knowledge. The fierce attacks of Dean Burgon, the leader of the hostile critics, did not trouble Westcott. He doubted Burgon's competence to discuss the matter.

Bishop Ellicott, who sat on the Revision Committee, recalled how Westcott—when one of his renderings was rejected—would retire with a look of solemn resignation on his face —as if his life-work had been destroyed at a stroke. When the Revision Company was equally divided on some nice point of translation, Westcott always found it difficult to vote on either side; generally he preferred to withdraw to a corner of the room until the vote had been taken.

CHAPTER VI

Canon of Westminster

GLADSTONE was always alert to promote men of character and learning in the Church, and so, when Westcott retired from Peterborough in 1883, the Prime Minister very soon sought him out for preferment. The Deanery of Exeter was vacant, and Westcott could have had the post; but he was anxious to continue his Cambridge Professorship, and, when a few months later his old Trinity friend Dr. Barry resigned his Canonry at Westminster to become Bishop of Sydney, and Gladstone suggested that Westcott should take his place, the Canonry was accepted because it did not necessitate departure from Cambridge.

Westcott preached the sermon at Bishop Barry's Consecration on January 1, 1884, and was duly installed as Canon of Westminster in February. The appointment gave very wide satisfaction, for Westcott's reputation in the Church had been growing quietly, but steadily, from the Harrow days, and at the Abbey he was warmly welcomed.

The Regius Professorship and its responsi-

bilities claimed Canon Westcott for Cambridge in Term time, but the Long Vacation and the Christmas Vacation always found him in residence at Westminster, and two volumes of sermons, *Christus Consummator*, and *Social Aspects of Christianity*, and the *Notes on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, remain a lasting memorial of the connexion with the Abbey. In these sermons it may be noticed that social questions and social aspects of life loom more largely than in earlier works, and this may be set down partly to the fact that at Peterborough Westcott had come face to face and hand to hand with workmen for the first time in his life, but still more to the fact that London in those first years of the Westminster Canonry was stirred by the beginnings of the Modern Socialist Movement in England, and by the Radical agitation of Henry George. In the parks and at street-corners lecturers of the Socialist League and the Social Democratic Federation were at work—William Morris in the forefront. The Fabian Society was issuing leaflets to the middle classes, and the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam and Mr. Frederick Verinder were rousing consciences, through the Guild of S. Matthew and the Land Restoration League. Socialism was very much "in the air" in London twenty years ago, and the disturbances after an unemployed meeting in Trafalgar Square, and the trial and acquittal of Mr. H. M. Hyndman, Mr. H. H. Champion,

and Mr. John Burns attracted considerable attention. Nowadays Socialists are found all over England, even in Parliament, and Socialist teaching has permeated political thought and public activity. All sorts of kind-hearted, sympathetic, pathetic people call themselves Socialists, or at least "Christian" Socialists, and, if the Socialist agitation of to-day is not so fiery and not so revolutionary as it was in the early eighties, it is certainly spread more widely. But William Morris and Mr. H. M. Hyndman were prophets indeed in 1884, and in their message startled and provoked thousands. Mr. Stewart Headlam, too, with his burning outspoken words on the Land Question made timid, but respectable Anglicans wonder what was going to happen when a clergyman spoke of such things, and preached from the platforms of Radical Clubs.

Westcott, though he appeared to the ordinary man wrapped in contemplation of eternal verities ("recluse" and "cloudy" some called him) was always alive to the movements of contemporary life, and the signs of change around him were not unheeded, nor the voices acclaiming the social revolution unheard. More and more he brooded over social questions, the deforming misery and wasted wealth in England, the long industrial agony of the labouring men and women, and from all his meditation one thought emerged. By and by, in God's good time, man would cease from wronging his

brother, and would become fashioned like unto the SON of GOD. From every fresh contemplation of life he returned to his belief with renewed confidence—"the Word was made flesh."

GOD had walked this earth as Man, and henceforth humanity with a capacity for moral growth must slowly but surely reach out towards the Divine. Humanity once and for all had been taken into the Godhead when CHRIST dwelt among men in visible form, and it was not possible for humanity to do otherwise than go forward. Westcott's optimism was built on this belief in the Incarnation, and every fresh experience, every new fact gleaned by observation only confirmed the point of view. Nothing expresses this innate and incurable optimism of Westcott's more forcibly than the *Christus Consummator* sermons, preached in 1885–6. Here the preacher insists that—

"Sin, suffering, sorrow, are not the ultimate facts of life. These are the work of an emeny; and the work of our GOD and Saviour lies deeper. The Creation stands behind the Fall, the counsel of the FATHER's love behind the self-assertion of man's wilfulness."

At the same time we are to

"Welcome each rebuff which turns earth's smoothness rough."

"The true secret of happiness is not to escape toil and affliction, but to meet them

with the faith that through them the destiny of man is fulfilled, that through them we can even now reflect the image of our LORD, and be transformed into His likeness."

"It is through difficulties fearlessly met that we are led to wider knowledge."

"At every prospect of great trial we have seen the figure of CHRIST to rise above the darkness—of CHRIST the Fulfiller—not only to give comfort, but to enlarge hope, not only to support the sufferer under the pressure of transitory affliction, but to show to the believing soul that, in a world such as this,

> 'Failure is but a triumph's evidence
> For the fulness of the days.'"

To the contention that faith and religion, after all, leave evil, sorrow, and suffering, poverty, and luxury, unremoved, the preacher answers, and gives reason for his optimism.

"True, but it leaves them only as one element in life, the most obvious, the most oppressive, but not the most enduring or the most powerful. It is when the physical order is held to be all, that life appears and must appear to be hopeless. As it is we can wait. We have found GOD in the world."

That is the explanation of the quiet calm of manner which made more impatient reformers regard Westcott as merely visionary. He had found "GOD in the world," and was satisfied that the world was daily becoming better. It did not make him indifferent or apathetic where

evil was concerned; in the silent hours in his study he was at times bowed down at the thought of the sin and suffering around him, and his earnestness in speaking about questions of industry and social conditions in the pulpit and on the platform was strikingly sincere to all who heard him. But with Browning he could say :—

"There shall never be one lost good! What was, shall
live as before;
The evil is null, is nought, is silence implying sound.
My own hope is, a sun will pierce
The thickest cloud earth ever stretched;
That, after Last, returns the First,
Though a wide compass round be fetched;
That what began best, can't end worst,
Nor what God blessed once, prove accurst."

"Look backward," Westcott bids his readers in *Social Aspects of Christianity*, "look backward for the inspiring encouragement of Christian experience. Look forward for the glorious assurance of Christian hope. But look around you, without closing your ears to one bitter cry, or closing your eyes against one piteous sight, or refusing thought to one stern problem, for your proper work, and thankfully accept it in the name of God."

Many passages in *Social Aspects* recall the writings of F. D. Maurice, and in 1884 Westcott wrote to Mr. Llewelyn Davies :—

"For the last week I have spent my leisure in Maurice's Life. I never knew before how deep my sympathy is with most of his

characteristic thought. It is most refreshing to read such a book—such a life."

Westcott was strengthened and confirmed in his social religious faith by F. D. Maurice at Durham; he could speak of Maurice's *Social Morality* as "one of my very few favourite books," but he left Maurice too long unread to be in any real sense his disciple. At the same time, Maurice's teaching had been influencing thoughtful Churchmen for forty years past. Westcott's early friends, Llewelyn Davies and David Vaughan were devoted Mauricians, and Westcott could not altogether escape breathing in the Maurician atmosphere. So with the Socialist agitation in London in the eighties. Westcott was not attracted to Social-Democracy, but he was influenced by the Socialist thought around him, and his sympathies were quickened by a movement that preached a co-operative commonwealth that was to supersede industrial anarchy of unrestricted competition.

In *Social Aspects of Christianity* Westcott declares boldly—

"We are suffering on all sides, and we know that we are suffering from a tyrannical individualism."

But he does not dwell on economic developments at all. It is the moral side, the spiritual part of man, that is to work the change in society, and the family is to be the social unit. "We are not made to live alone. . . . The existence of the world is a fact, a self-luminous

fact, of which we must take account, no less than the existence of God and the existence of our own souls. Even our communion with God must be through the fulness of life. There may be times when hermit isolation becomes a duty, as it may be a duty to cut off the right hand or to pluck out the right eye, but it exhibits a mutilation and not an ideal of life. All the anarchy and half the social errors by which we are troubled spring from placing the individual, the self, at the centre of all things. No view can be more flagrantly false."

"Man, in a word, is made by and made for fellowship. The family and not the individual is the unit of mankind. . . . For the family exhibits in the simplest and most unquestionable types the laws of dependence and trust, of authority and obedience, of obligation and helpfulness by which every form of true activity is regulated."

It may be remembered when we read Westcott's glowing eulogy of the family that his own happiness in family life was very great. His married life extended over forty-eight years, and few men have been so blest in marriage as Westcott was. He had, too, a large family, seven sons and two daughters, and the sons all became clergymen, and that without the slightest paternal pressure—a striking witness to the respect and affection for the father's office. Missionary zeal carried several of these sons far from England, but no

shadow of real separation, no suggestion of any failing in mutual love, came into the family circle. And Bishop Westcott and his wife and their sons and daughters were united in a mutual love, which held more closely than the common ties of home are wont to bind. Perhaps this was so because at the bottom of the mutual love lay a deep mutual respect, for the trouble so commonly is that love is apt to forget the respect due, to claim its own at the expense of another personality—to claim parental authority at the expense of the child's character and self-respect, or childhood's pleasure at the expense of a parent's proper responsibility; and the love in parent or child, in husband or wife, or in friend and friend that yields its own in weakness or in indolence sins against the light, and brings distress as surely as the love that is the aggressor. Hence the passive misery, the estrangements, the dull bitterness, and from time to time the open revolt, in countless homes and families where happiness might be looked for. Remembering Westcott's unbroken life of domestic happiness, well deserved, it is not difficult to understand his belief in the family as a regenerative force.

From the fellowship of the family, Westcott bids the readers of *Social Aspects* turn to the larger fellowship of the nation, and of the race. "How essentially pagan is the destruction of small States," he had written fifteen years before,

and now in these Westminster sermons we meet the same championship of nation and nationality (but not of Nationalism).

"The nation no less than the family springs out of the acknowledgement of our personal incompleteness. . . . There could be no true family without wide differences in power, in fortune, in duty among those who compose it. . . . The nation again, no less than the family, is organized and controlled by an inherent authority. Through whatever instruments the authority may be administered it is in itself not of man but of God. Authority is not created but recognized, even in a successful revolution. Authority may be graced or obscured by the character of him who wields it, but essentially it can receive no glory and suffer no loss from man."

It is interesting to compare this view of authority with a passage of Thomas Carlyle's in *Heroes and Hero-Worship* :—

"To assert that in whatever man you choose to lay hold of (by this or the other plan of clutching at him); and clapt a round piece of metal on the head of, and called him king—there straightway came to reside a Divine virtue, so that *he* became a kind of god, and a Divinity inspired him with a faculty and right to rule over you at all lengths; this—what can we do with this but leave it to rot silently in the public libraries?"

"England, a nation" was one of Westcott's

burning causes in the years before the clamour for Imperialism. It made him enlarge with enthusiasm over the importance of the Jubilee celebrations of 1887 and 1897; it impelled him to take the platform of the Church Defence Society, and declare that a nation was weaker if its spiritual organ and mouthpiece (i.e., an Established Church) was removed; and it made him labour for the healing of wounds caused by industrial disputes. On the other hand this passionate regard for England made it difficult for Westcott to look at the welfare of other nations with whom England might be at strife. He found satisfaction in the thought that England was better—more chastened and more united—for the late war in South Africa, but there is no hint that he considered the Boer nation in the matter, and whether they also profited by the war.

It was impossible for Westcott to believe that England could be wrong in any great public question, or that the policy and ambitions of its rulers could be base or ignoble. There was always some reason to be found, some explanation to be offered for apparent departures from high ideals. Even the facts concerning the opium traffic were not conclusive for condemning that iniquitous business. The ostentatious display of military force at the Jubilee Celebration of 1897, which distressed many, did not so strike Westcott. It is true he asked himself the question, after witnessing

the spectacle, Is the Army the nation, or the strength of the nation? But he also gives his answer in an address to the Christian Social Union at Leicester:—

"The pageant was, perhaps necessarily, military in form; but no one, I think, rests in the belief that our strength lies in material forces. . . . The solemn grandeur of the spectacle has not been marred by any popular voice of vainglory. . . . The large representation of Colonial troops kept far away the thought of aggression, while it vividly expressed the variety of the elements united in the Empire. . . . Our social ideal and our personal ideal have both been ennobled; we have received a powerful impulse of self-realization, not as units in aggregate, but as members in a body. Even when the outward has associated itself with the most impressive majesty, the Unseen has been acknowledged as paramount."

Christus Consummator is the fruit of meditation on the Epistle to the Hebrews, and it was followed by the publication (1889) of Westcott's edition of that Epistle—the Greek Text with Notes and Essays. "No work in which I have ever been allowed to spend many years of continuous labour has had for me the same intense human interest as the study of the Epistle to the Hebrews," Westcott wrote in his preface to this important commentary. In the Essay "On the Use of the Old Testament in the Epistle," at the end of the

book, Westcott stated some of the difficulties that beset the study of the Old Testament, and uttered a note of warning :—

"It is likely that study will be concentrated on the Old Testament in the coming generation. The subject is one of great obscurity and difficulty where the sources of information are scanty. Perhaps the result of the most careful enquiry will be to bring the conviction that many problems of the highest interest as to the origin and relation of the constituent Books are insoluble. But the student, in any case, must not approach the enquiry with the assumption—sanctioned though it may have been by traditional use—that GOD must have taught His people, and us through His people, in one particular way. He must not presumptuously stake the inspiration and the Divine authority of the Old Testament on any foregone conclusion as to the method and shape in which the records have come down to us. We have made many grievous mistakes in the past as to the character and the teaching of the Bible. The experience may stand us in good stead now. The Bible is the record, the inspired, authoritative record, of the Divine education of the world. The Old Testament, as we receive it, is the record of the way in which GOD trained a people for the CHRIST *in many parts and in many modes*, the record which the CHRIST Himself and His Apostles received and sanctioned. How the record

was brought together, out of what materials, at what times, under what conditions, are questions of secondary importance."

Early in his residence at the Abbey a pleasant break in the routine of Cambridge and Westminster work came to Westcott when Edinburgh University held its Tercentary Festival in 1884, and conferred Honorary Degrees upon a number of distinguished people, of whom the Cambridge Regius Professor, to whom Edinburgh gave a D.D., was not the least distinguished. Westcott had a rare capacity for enjoying himself at all public functions he felt it his duty to attend, and this visit to Edinburgh brought very real pleasure. He was the guest of Professor Flint; Professor Seeley walked beside him in the procession to S. Giles'; Dr. Hatch, of Oxford, an old schoolfellow of Westcott's, was a fellow-guest at Professor Flint's; Robert Browning exchanged greetings with him; Bishop Lightfoot was there; Sir James Paget and Sir Andrew Clarke carried him off to a luncheon at the College of Physicians. At the banquet after the degrees had been given Westcott responded to the toast of "Theology," proposed by Lord Napier and Ettrick. Sir Henry Maine responded for Law, and Professor Virchow for Medicine.

The establishing of the Christian Social Union in 1889 was a matter very dear to Canon Westcott. He became its president,

and to the end of his life the C.S.U. was one of the Church of England societies he aided in every possible way.

Canon Scott Holland in *The Commonwealth* described the impression Westcott made as a speaker on social questions :—

"The real and vital impression made came from the intensity of the spiritual passion which forced its way out through that strangely knotted brow, and lit up those wonderful grey eyes, and shook that thin high voice into some ringing clang as of a trumpet. There was a famous address at the founding of the Christian Social Union, delivered to us in Sion College, which none who were present can ever forget. Yet none of us can ever recall in the least what was said. No one knows. Only we know that we were lifted, kindled, transformed. We pledged ourselves ; we committed ourselves ; we were ready to die for the Cause ; but if you asked us why, and for what, we could not tell you. There he was : there he spoke : the prophetic fire was breaking from him : the martyr-spirit glowed through him. We, too, were caught up. But words had only become symbols. There was nothing verbal to report or to repeat. We could remember nothing, except the spirit which was in the words : and that was enough."

What Canon Holland, with so much hearty appreciation, calls "spirit," plainer people, who rather wanted to remember what was said and

to recall the words of the speaker, were apt to call "cloudiness."

But if Canon Westcott's spoken words at the Christian Social Union meeting could be described as "symbols," his writings and speeches on the question of International Peace were plain enough for all.

In 1889 Westcott presided over a Conference of Christians representing the Church of England and the Nonconformist bodies, held at his residence at Westminster, and from this Conference sprang the Committee of the Christian Union for Promoting International Concord, of which he was made Chairman. Dr. Clifford, Rev. F. B. Meyer, Mr. Percy W. Bunting, and Rev. H. W. Webb-Peploe, were at that Conference; and Rev. Dr. Paton, Rev. Mark Guy Pearse, Dean Gott of Worcester, Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, and Lord Nelson, though absent, expressed their full sympathy with the meeting. In a letter to the *Guardian* Canon Westcott explained the objects of the Conference, and the resolutions it adopted. Unanimously the Conference had decided "that the present condition of the armaments of Europe demands the urgent attention of all Christian Communions with a view to (1) United prayer to Almighty God upon this subject, (2) Combined action, in any ways possible, for the bringing about a simultaneous reduction of the armaments."

In a later chapter I shall deal more fully

with Westcott's views on War and other political questions, but it may be well here to quote two paragraphs from this letter to the *Guardian*, for they are as clear as could be desired :—

"The proposal to work for the simultaneous reduction of European armaments is definite, and deals with an urgent peril. It does not involve any abstract theories. It is not complicated by any considerations of party politics. It emphatically recognizes that which is the object of our greatest statesmen. Such a disarmament would secure the lasting and honourable peace which the leaders of Europe have shown lately, once and again, that they sincerely desire. And we may reasonably hope that a strong expression of popular feeling will be welcome to those who have the conduct of affairs, as strengthening and encouraging them to adopt measures by which they may be delivered from the embarrassment of a policy which more and more tends to turn the provision for home defence into a menace.

"If once we realize that the true interests of nations are identical, and not antagonistic, it must be possible to find some settlement of the existing causes of debate upon the Continent, which will satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the great and generous nations in whose satisfaction Europe will find peace."

Westcott became deeply attached to the Abbey during the six years of his Canonry.

"He loved this Abbey Church," said Canon Duckworth in his sermon on August 4, 1901, "with a quite peculiar affection, because it witnessed in a unique manner, as he said, to the consecration of every form of service which man is capable of offering to GOD. . . . For the Incarnation had taught him that every form of human effort was capable of consecration; and that only as each brings that which is his own predestined contribution can the fulness of life be offered to CHRIST, and the purposes of GOD for man be carried to its issue."

Gladstone offered him the Deanery of Lincoln in 1885, and Lord Salisbury the Deanery of Norwich in 1889, and Westcott declined both—so unwilling was he to leave Westminster and Cambridge. Then in December, 1889, came the death of Dr. Lightfoot, and the Bishopric of Durham was vacant, to be filled the following March by the appointment of Dr. Westcott. The last ceremony he took part in at Westminster was the funeral of Robert Browning.

Westcott was Examining Chaplain to Archbishop Benson during the six years at Westminster, and a characteristic story is told of a Roman Catholic Priest who applied at Lambeth for admission to the Church of England ministry and was referred by the Archbishop to his Chaplain. Some months later Benson enquired of Westcott concerning

this Roman Priest, of whom he had heard nothing more. "Oh!" exclaimed Westcott, "he was very ignorant, very ignorant indeed; he knew nothing." And then Benson discovered that the unhappy man had not satisfied Westcott in Bible Exegesis, and had been sent away to study instead of being welcomed as a convert.

CHAPTER VII

Bishop of Durham

WHEN, in March, 1890, Canon Westcott accepted the Bishopric of Durham, the news of the appointment was greeted with approval from every side. He was in no sense a party man; to Westcott indeed, the differences of High Church and Low Church seemed irrelevant, and earnest men of all opinions in the Church of England welcomed Bishop Lightfoot's successor to Durham, and declared the choice wise and well-made.

For Canon Westcott the change from Cambridge and Westminster to Durham was very grave. He was in his sixty-sixth year, and (in his own words) after "long and busy years as student and teacher" he was "suddenly called at the close of life to the oversight of a diocese in which the problems of modern life are presented in the most urgent and impressive form." The faith which had been pondered in quiet had without preparation to "be brought into the market-place and vindicated as a power of action."

But, though Westcott was thus impressed

by the immensity and the responsibility of the task before him, there was no hesitation, no weakness about obeying the call to Durham, and till the day came — more than eleven years later—when death relieved him of his charge, he fulfilled the work before him with a patient, untiring industry, and with a courage and sympathy that won affection and respect throughout the diocese, and commanded admiration wherever men were interested. At his Consecration a Bishop makes solemn promises that he will

> "Maintain and set forward quietness, love, and peace among all men,"

and that he will

> "Shew himself gentle, and be merciful for CHRIST'S sake to poor and needy people, and to all strangers destitute of help."

and Westcott kept faith. The Consecration took place in Westminster Abbey on May 1. Dr. Hort preached, and Archbishop Thomson consecrated the new Bishop; assisted by the Bishops of Winchester, Carlisle, Exeter, Oxford, Ripon, Truro, and Wakefield. A fortnight later Bishop Westcott began his work at Durham. The days for studious research concerning the original text of the New Testament, for long meditation over the beginnings of Christianity, for editing of the sacred books were over; the work of a Bishop of the Church of England with its mass of official business, its Conferences, and its Visita-

tions had commenced. Men wondered how this learned Cambridge Professor, this idealist, this preacher of the glories of the invisible, would acquit himself in the turmoil of industrial Durham. Would he become lost in episcopal routine? Would he fail among the big capitalists—the practical men of his diocese? Would he make himself understood to the miners with their trade unions and co-operative societies?

In his sermon—published later in *The Incarnation and Common Life*—at his enthronement in Durham Cathedral on Ascension Day, 1890, Bishop Westcott struck the note that was to distinguish his episcopate. This Christian religion which he had come to preach and confirm in that part of the realm of England was a social religion :—

"We are not, we cannot be alone. There is a larger life in which we are all bound to an irrevocable past and an immeasurable future: a life which we inherit; a life which we bequeath, weakened or purified by our own little labours. And there is also now a present life of the society in which we are all bound one to another, a life of the city, of the diocese, of the nation, a life which in these different relations is completed in many parts and fulfilled through many offices; a life in which each member serves the whole body with his peculiar gifts; a life in which the rich harmony is marred by the silence of the feeblest voice;

a life in which the greatest powers owe a debt of blessing to the humblest; a life in which each lives by all, through all, for all."

After alluding to many social questions of pressing importance, the Bishop declared :—

"I do wish to call again, as far as any influence is given to me, the energy and enterprise of our citizens from personal to civil duties. I do wish, speaking, as I believe, in the spirit of the great office in which I desire to sink myself, to claim the whole of life, every human interest, every joy and every sorrow, every noble aspiration and every true thought, as falling within the domain of our faith. I do wish that we should agree together from the first that all the problems of modern life are in the end religious problems."

The time was very soon to come when this social faith was to be put to the test, when England was to see how an idealist would acquit himself in the strife between Capital and Labour.

In 1891 the coal-owners of the County of Durham had resolved on a general reduction of wages, and after a good deal of fruitless correspondence between the Miners' Federation and the Owners' Committee, in March, 1892, work stopped at all the pits. The owners demanded seven and a half per cent. reduction of wages, the miners were willing to work at a reduction of five per cent. Neither side was prepared to yield. Bishop Westcott wrote at

the beginning of the struggle, offering his services to the Miners' Federation, but the men were not then inclined to any return to work at a reduction of wages beyond five per cent.; they refused to entrust the officials of their Federation with full powers for a settlement, and declined to look with favour on any "outside interference." And so the weary labour-war went on—fought with grim tenacity by the pit-men against the heavy accumulated wealth of the coal-owners. There could be but one ending to such a strike—sooner or later the men were bound to accept whatever terms the owners would offer: starvation throws its weight in the scale against labour in all these disputes, and hunger compels submission. Strikes are the insurrections of industry, often heroic, often educative, often productive of great qualities of loyalty, patience, and fellowship, and (save in petty disputes), as a very general rule, doomed to be unsuccessful. It is a matter of whether Capital or Labour can hold out the longer, and the means for endurance, the resources for a prolonged spell of idleness, are the greater on the capitalist side. So it was in Durham in 1892. Within a couple of months the miners and their families were face to face with famine. Savings were soon exhausted, and dismantled homes told of household furniture pawned and sold to provide food. Others besides the miners were affected—all local industries and

small shopkeepers—the distress became general. The men, starving quietly in silence and with due regard to law and order, made the first overtures for peace. They were willing to submit to a seven and a half per cent. reduction, but now the owners demanded a greater fall in wages. The men offered ten per cent., and the owners raised their claims to a thirteen and a half per cent. reduction. So matters stood at the end of May, and the Bishop, who had watched and waited, anxious only to do what he could "to set forward peace among all men," again made overtures for a settlement. In an open letter addressed to the Rev. E. Price, Rural Dean of Bishop Auckland, and published in *The Times*, early in May, Bishop Westcott urged that the questions in dispute between the miners and the coal-owners should be referred to a joint board composed of three representatives of the owners, three representatives of the miners, and three business men not connected with mining. "No argument could fail to receive due weight in the deliberations of such a body. The grounds of their verdict would, I imagine, be laid before the world, and masters and men would alike be gainers by the loyal acceptance of a policy of just conciliation." The letter was ignored, but it brought conciliation into the field for discussion, and set the minds of men in that direction for a settlement of the strike. So it happened that when, on May 25, the

Bishop wrote to Sir Lindsay Wood, the Chairman of the Owners' Association, and to the Secretary of the Miners' Federation Board proposing—

> "That the pits should be opened with the least possible delay on two conditions :
>
> "1. That there should be an immediate reduction of wages of ten per cent.
>
> "2. That the question of any further reduction should be referred to a Wages Board, to be established with full powers to deal with this and with all future differences as to the increase or reduction of wages"—

and inviting representatives of the two organizations to meet at once at the Castle, Bishop Auckland, "to discuss details," the offer was accepted.

Sir Lindsay Wood, in accepting for the Owners' Committee, and Mr. John Wilson, M.P., and the other leaders of the Miners' Federation, in accepting for the men, paid tribute to Bishop Westcott's "care and thought" and "the laudable desire manifested towards bringing the unfortunate dispute to a termination," but neither side expressed any confidence that the conference would accomplish a settlement.

Still, the invitation was accepted ; owners and miners were agreed in this, that they could meet under the Bishop's roof, and under his chairmanship would discuss the

possibilites of peace. Westcott hastened back from the Annual Meeting of the International Arbitration Association in London in time to meet the chosen representatives of the miners and the owners at the Castle on June 1. The Conference began directly after lunch and all the afternoon the crowd outside, which had gathered at noon, waited eagerly for news. First, the Bishop pleaded with both sides for a settlement that should have lasting results in the direction of peace and goodwill between capital and labour; and then after some discussion, under his chairmanship, the Federation-men and the Owners' Committee retired to separate rooms, the Bishop passing freely between the two camps. The men were willing to return to work at a ten per cent. reduction of wages: would the owners agree to those conditions? The owners were standing out for a thirteen and a half per cent. reduction, and for a time it seemed as though the deadlock could not be forced. Then, as the hot summer afternoon passes, the Bishop makes an appeal to the owners to yield. Let the men return to work at a ten per cent. reduction, and let a Conciliation Board go into the whole question of wages for the future. He pleads with the owners to concede these terms before starvation forces the men to an unwilling and hostile submission. The miners, at the same time, send a message to the owners, offering a return to work at an immediate reduction of

ten per cent., and promising to agree to the formation of a Joint Conciliation Board for the further settlement of disputes. At five o'clock, after a very tough last half-hour, the Owners' Committee abandoned their claim to a thirteen and a half per cent. reduction of wages, and accepted the men's terms.

The strike was over; the great crowd outside the Castle shouted itself hoarse with excitement. The Bishop had really carried the day. The idealist had prevailed. It is worth while to recall the details of the Durham Coal Strike in 1892, not only because it was the chiefest event in Westcott's episcopate, but because it demolishes the tiresome contemptuous notion that men of exalted principle and simplicity of belief, men of patient study and of rare enthusiasm, are out of place in the everyday affairs of public life, and are not helpful in the hour of public difficulty. Westcott succeeded at Durham just because he was a man of ideals and of devotion. He had no axe to grind, no faction to serve, no ambition to gratify; but he had high principles of duty and social responsibility that needs must be at work; his simplicity of heart and honesty of mind were open for all men to see; he was a man in whom (it was felt) all could have confidence, to whose judgements all could look for justice. And for ten years men of all sorts and conditions in that Durham diocese trusted Bishop Westcott and believed in him.

His mediation finished the strike—that was always to be remembered. Two days after the Conference at the Castle the pits were reopened, and later on the Conciliation Board was constituted.

Of course all bitterness among the miners was not removed when the strike was over. The ten per cent. reduction meant a heavy fall in wages, and some of the men felt that the Bishop might have helped them to withstand the demands of the owners, and so prevent any reduction of wages. They did not understand that Westcott could not take sides in such a dispute, that he believed it his work to reconcile and harmonize in the strife of men, and that the responsibility to all classes in the diocese sat heavily upon him. Besides, Westcott was as far from being a democrat as was Ruskin (whom he read a good deal in those Durham years), and to the end he openly defended social inequalities of wealth and position. To a great audience of Northumberland miners, at the Miners' Gala Day in 1894, Bishop Westcott maintained that it was well that some men should have a high place and large means, though, of course, such men were in the responsible position of great trustees, and they were bound to use their means for God and the nation. "Privileged inheritance should be regarded as a call to exceptional devotion."

The fact that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners

draw large sums from mining and royalties could not be overlooked, and it was suggested by certain men, miserably disappointed at the collapse of the strike, as an explanation of the Bishop's anxiety to arrive at a settlement. Men said harsh things in their hour of defeat of the Bishop, of the owners, and of their own leaders, and there is always a certain amount of relief to some minds in thus giving vent to explosive feelings of wrath and vexation ; but in their hearts, neither in Durham nor elsewhere did any believe that the Bishop's motives were not of the highest, or that any question of personal loss or gain in material things prompted his interference. Jealous for the rights of his See, no Bishop of Durham cared less for personal state, or indulged fewer desires of the flesh. The Rev. Arthur Westcott has told us in the *Life and Letters of Bishop Westcott*, of his father's dislike of all luxury, of his abstinence from tobacco, and from wine and spirits, of his objection to using a carriage—how the Bishop would when the carriage was necessary sit huddled up with his back to the horses—and these things were not unknown in the diocese. Though a few denounced the Bishop for "siding with the owners," the great bulk of the miners knew him for their friend, and several times in after years he was invited to preach to them in the Cathedral on the Miners' Gala Day. The very last public address Bishop Westcott delivered was to the

Durham miners only a few days before his death.

The average Bishop's life in the Church of England is a very busy one, and Dr. Westcott escaped none of the tasks that we assign to our prelates. At Missionary Meetings, Temperance Meetings, Church Defence Meetings, Diocesan Conferences, the Bishop was expected to be present, and he rarely failed to attend. Then his proper work of ordaining, confirming, and consecrating churches was done with a devout conscientiousness that covered the minutest detail. There was a mass of official correspondence to be attended to, and the Bishop would never yield to the modern spirit that relegates letter-writing to the typewriter and the shorthand clerk, but must needs write his own letters by hand, and generally by return of post. In social movements no less than in episcopal activities Dr. Westcott was absorbed at Durham. He was busy at conferences on Co-operation, Profit-sharing, and Labour Co-partnership; on the Unemployed, and on Temperance Reform. Sometimes these conferences took place at Bishop Auckland, and the Bishop was always at his happiest in the hospitality he bestowed on his guests.

For the Christian Social Union he preached and spoke far and wide in the diocese, and at Bristol, Cambridge, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, and Leicester; in a later

chapter I shall give some fuller account of this Christian Social Union work. London, of course, too, had to be visited from time to time for "May Meetings," for important anniversaries, and for conventions in the cause of International Peace and Arbitration.

In the debates in the House of Lords, Westcott took little part; but he voted in 1894—much to the regret of his Trade Unionist and Liberal friends—for the amendment to the Employers' Liability Bill, which sanctioned "contracting-out," and thereby largely destroyed the usefulness of the measure.

To the Bill introduced in the House of Commons, in 1893, by Mr. Asquith for the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales, Westcott offered most strenuous opposition. He spoke at the Albert Hall, London, and at a great meeting at Sunderland in defence of the Establishment, and his voice, in early life thin and weak, carried well. The Bishop's main arguments were: (1) That the Established Church was the spiritual organ of the nation, and that to disestablish was to deprive the nation of a great possession. (2) That Church and State had grown up together, and were one—and like the head and body made one person. How was it possible to disestablish, when we could not fix the date when the establishing took place? It is remarkable that in his "Church Defence" speeches it is for the nation Westcott pleads

and not for the Church. He was not Erastian in any desire to make the Church subservient to the State; rather Church and State are united too closely in his mind to be separated without lasting loss to both, and the national life without a National Church, a thing only to be contemplated with dismay. The things of Cæsar and the things of God, the secular and the sacred, were not to be separated, Westcott more than once declared with passionate emphasis. This warm affection for the Established Church of England never made him look with coldness on Nonconformists, though he was puzzled that men should prefer the authority of Rome to the independence he prized so highly in his own communion.

With Dr. Moulton, a fellow-member on the Revision Committee, Westcott remained close friends, and for that eminent Wesleyan's work on the Revision of the Apocrypha he had high admiration. His relations with Dr. Dale, the Congregationalist of Birmingham, too, were very friendly, and both men enjoyed each other's New Testament Commentaries. From time to time parties of Nonconformist ministers and local preachers visited the palace at Bishop Auckland to be entertained in the most cordial way by the Bishop. On the other hand neither Cardinal Newman, whom Westcott heard in his Undergraduate days, nor Cardinal Vaughan, whom he met late in life, impressed him pleasantly.

With the clergy of his diocese Westcott's relations were on the whole very happy. His real fatherliness, and his plain sincerity for the welfare of the whole Church could not fail to win the hearts of men. He believed the best of his clergy, as he did of other men ; he never charged them with disloyalty if their ritual practices and their sacramental teaching were not what he approved. It might be want of due thought and consideration of the position of the Church of England that had caused this overstepping of the mark, but the Bishop could not believe that it was any conscious disloyalty. He recognized fully that the Church's formularies allowed considerable latitude of discipline and expression, and made no attempt to coerce High Churchmen or Low to a rigid uniformity. Certain ceremonies and devotions that were disagreeable to Westcott personally he permitted in the diocese, understanding that they might be helpful to others. On the whole he welcomed varieties in Church life as symptoms of health and vigour, provided there was at bottom sincere belief in the Christian verities and in the claims of the Church of England. At the same time, with all his wide sympathies and the earnest desire not to curtail the liberties of his clergy, Westcott could put his foot down quite firmly when he considered it necessary, and his refusal to sanction Father Dolling's presence in the diocese revealed this

firmness. Dolling had arranged to preach a mission in a Durham parish, and then came his difference with the Bishop of Winchester, and the departure from S. Agatha's, Portsmouth, at the end of 1895. Dr. Westcott was not troubled by Father Dolling's religious or social teaching, but that a clergyman should be lacking in obedience to his diocesan was what seemed so deplorable. Himself the soul of obedience to all lawfully-constituted authority, Westcott was really distressed that Dolling was "obviously deficient in the elementary graces of humility, meekness and obedience," and so he wrote and requested the vicar of the parish where the mission was to be held to cancel the arrangements and put the mission off, and the request was obeyed. It was a blow to Father Dolling's friends, and to all who hoped that the Church of England would find room for the large-hearted parson of the Winchester College Mission, Landport; that a Bishop of such well-known social views as Westcott had should join in what looked like an episcopal conspiracy to drive Dolling out of the Church of England seemed particularly sad. But this must be remembered: Westcott had really little affection for the "saving of souls" through evangelical preaching, sudden conversions did not appeal to him, the success of a parochial mission was a small thing beside the continuance of authority in the Established Church. In his own words spoken

in Durham Cathedral, "at the close of life . . . we learn to distrust speedy results. And if we are tempted to hope for less in the near future, our confident expectation of 'the times of restoration of all things' is strengthened by the vision of a continuous movement in the affairs of men and a clearer sense of its direction." In this vision of "continuous movement" Father Dolling's powers of persuasion, and whole-hearted love for individual souls had no place. Dolling was a thorn in the side of the powers that trust to law and order, and Westcott naturally sided with authority. It was unfortunate; it was a matter of real sorrow to the Bishop; but if Dolling would not submit to episcopal order, Dolling, or any other clergyman who behaved with the same freedom, must stay away from Durham. There was nothing of the Evangelical at any time about Westcott.

To the simple Evangelical Christian there are only two great facts—the personal immortal soul and GOD. Westcott never could exclude a third fact nor deem it of less importance—the existence of mankind, the welfare of the race.

It was said that once a clerical friend complained to him that a Salvation Army officer travelling in the same railway carriage had put the question to him "Are you saved?" "I was rather embarrassed to find an answer: what should you have said, my Lord?" the

friend enquired. The Bishop paused a moment and then answered, with a gentle smile, "I should have said, Do you mean by 'saved' *sotheis* (σωθεὶς), *sozomenos* (σωζόμενος), or *sesosmenos* (σεσωσμένος)?"—quoting the three related but not identic words which the A.V. indifferently renders "saved."

If the inhibition of Father Dolling vexed a good number of Church-people, Bishop Westcott's attitude on the South African War was a far greater blow to all his peace-friends. Westcott had identified himself so largely with the cause of International Peace that many looked to him for a lead when war broke out between the British Government and the Boers. Dean Kitchin, of Durham, from the first spoke out against the policy that led to war, and protested all the time against the continuance of the war, but Dr. Westcott could not see things in the same light. He found the Boers to blame for sending the ultimatum, he held that England was bound in duty to prosecute the war, and he believed that the war did good in uniting the British Empire, and in rousing a sense of common responsibility among English people. It is difficult to see how Bishop Westcott could have spoken otherwise. His love of International Peace was not greater than his love of England, and his belief in England's mission. To have condemned the South African War would have been to turn his back on the convictions of a life-

time, and at seventy-five men do not easily give up the convictions by which they have lived. He could not believe England to be in the wrong, and, therefore, the Boers were to blame. It is to be noted, too, that here, as in the case of Dolling's inhibition, immediate distress was a small thing in his sight when compared with the growth of men and nations. Westcott's dislike of war was deep and strong, but he saw that in the past men and nations had grown through, and in spite of war, pestilence, and famine, and he could comfort himself with the sure confidence that this South African War was a discipline which would leave England purified. Its effect on the Boers was not, perhaps, duly considered. Then Westcott had nothing of the Manchester Liberal hostility to war as a hindrance to international trade, and as a destroyer of the goodwill that comes of such trade. Neither did he believe that literal obedience to the commands of CHRIST expressed in the New Testament—commands to refrain from violence and resistance to evil—were of the essence of Christianity. Christianity was not in his eyes the obedience to certain fixed laws of conduct, it was rather the transforming of character to the likeness of a Divine Person. He could not, looking back over past history and around him in the world, condemn the use of force, and war was but the extreme use of force. And so, though the South African War

saddened him, Bishop Westcott could bless the British troops, and pray anxiously for their success on the field of battle.

Public affairs were not the only things that brought sadness to the old Bishop in the last years at Durham. Death carried off his youngest son Basil, who was working as a missionary in India. Then in 1892 Dr. Hort died, and four years later Archbishop Benson. Sorrowfully in 1897, Westcott inscribed his book on *The Christian Aspects of Life* to the memory of his three friends, Bishop Lightfoot, Dr. Hort, and Archbishop Benson, and added the words "whose friendship has been inspiration and strength throughout my life."

One touch of passing pleasure he had. In 1898, the University of Dublin conferred upon him the Honorary Degree of D.D.—an honour which it rarely bestows; no one, in fact, had received it before Westcott for more than eighty years. The Bishop crossed to Ireland for the first and only time in his life to receive the degree, and he preached before the University.

Mrs. Westcott accompanied him, and the visit to Dublin, where Dr. Salmon, the Provost, entertained them, remained to the end a time of memorable interest and pleasure. To few men has it been given as it was to Bishop Westcott to win in a lifetime so full a recognition of the gifts possessed and the character revealed.

Three books of sermons and addresses delivered during the Durham episcopate were published by Messrs. Macmillan: *The Incarnation and Common Life*, *Christian Aspects of Life*, and *Lessons from Work*. These contain the full, ripe thought of Westcott's life. They mark no change of standpoint, no recantation of former utterances, no striking development of opinion. It is the earlier thought matured and confirmed by experience; but it is essentially the same thought and teaching that characterized the first deliverances of the Cambridge Tutor. Westcott never delivered a rash message to be afterwards recalled, nor took a false step to be afterwards retraced. His life was of a piece throughout. The vision before him may have become more luminous, the vista wider and brighter, the road clearer. But the one vision before him—the Incarnation of the Son of God—was never obscured, the vista was never closed or seriously darkened. There was no halting on the road, no weary floundering in sloughs of despond. In these Durham sermons, if the note of age is sometimes struck, it makes no discord with the note of invincible optimism—that note to which Browning had attuned him. The belief "in the life to come," the life to come for man and for humanity here on this earth, eternal life in close fellowship with God, the life ever approaching nearer to the likeness of the Eternal, with sin and its disfigurements

no longer oppressing,—this belief rings out triumphantly in these last discourses, and remains recorded in his books, that all who will may read for themselves, and so reading learn the message of a great Christian teacher.

CHAPTER VIII

The End

ILLNESS rarely interfered with Westcott's work, but in the summer of 1897, the Bishop being then in his seventy-third year, his good health failed him, and some months of rest from all diocesan business was necessary. With reluctance and disappointment he cancelled his engagements to attend the Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops throughout the world, and to address the Durham miners at the service in Durham Cathedral on their annual Gala Day. So serious was the breakdown that resignation was thought inevitable, and there was talk of the Bishop's successor. But the end was not yet. The life of steady, even mind, of ordered habits, of wholesome discipline, the life of the temperate mean, never wasted by self-indulgence nor torn by the anxieties of poverty, must run its full course. The Bishop rallied and recovered, and in the autumn was pleading for "Church Reform" from the presidential chair of his Diocesan Conference.

Parliament, he urged, was not able to deal

effectually with questions of Church Reform; it had no time for ecclesiastical legislation. The Church of England needed the same powers of self-government that the Established Church of Scotland possessed. And as a step in this direction the Church of England must first reform its Houses of Convocation by securing the due representation of laymen in those assemblies.

Again the round of Church services, public meetings, conferences, and official correspondence was resumed, and Westcott was as indefatigable as ever. The activity in the last year of his life was wonderful. In September, 1900, he presides at a meeting of the Newcastle Church Congress on the subject of "War"; in October he makes an Episcopal Visitation and delivers a lengthy Charge in Durham Cathedral and at Darlington on "The Position and Call of the English Church"; in November he speaks on Education at the opening of new Science Buildings at Barnard Castle, declaring that—

"Education, as I understand it, is not a preparation for commerce or the professions, but the moulding of a noble character, a training for life—for life seen and unseen—a training of citizens of a heavenly as well as of an earthly kingdom, for generous service in Church and State."

And later in the same month, at Leeds, he gives his last address to the Christian Social

Union, and utters some memorable words on Progress :—

"Before we can determine whether a movement is really progress we must determine the end it is desired to reach. Progress is an advance towards an ideal. If we wish to estimate human progress we must fix the human ideal."

In December came the last visit to Cambridge, and for the second time—after an interval of thirty-two years—Westcott preached at the Trinity College Commemoration. Very eloquently he reminded his hearers that as a young man in the chapel and courts of Trinity he had seen visions—visions which in outward circumstances had been more than fulfilled ; and that now as an old man he dreamed dreams of great hope that the work his own generation had left unaccomplished would be carried forward by men who "would welcome the ideal which breaks in light upon them, the only possible ideal for man, the fullest realization of self, the completest service of others, the devoutest fellowship with God."

So the days went by and winter passed, and still the meetings, sermons, conferences, and correspondence went on. Then at the end of May, while the Bishop was away from home consecrating a churchyard at Lamesley, came the death of Mrs. Westcott, and the devoted wife ("for forty-eight years my unfailing counsellor and stay," Westcott wrote in the

touching dedication of *Lessons from Work*) was no longer to share his hopes and fears. In a letter to his old friend the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies, a few weeks later, Bishop Westcott wrote :—

"When we came here I was afraid that the cares of her position would oppress Mrs. Westcott, whose whole heart was in her home. But it was not so. She told me again and again that these eleven years were the happiest of her life. They brought countless opportunities for showing little kindnesses, and it is a joy to me to see how many speak of her 'loving motherliness.' She was, I think, a perfect Bishop's wife, a mother in GOD to all whom she touched. And now the memory of a beautiful life remains in its completeness to guide me through whatever I may have to do."

From all parts of the diocese, and from troops of friends, came sympathy, and the Bishop could write to the same correspondent: "The thing which has struck me most is the way in which a great sorrow reveals a larger life."

At the funeral in the chapel at Bishop Auckland Castle, on May 31st, Bishop Westcott, and his eldest son, Canon Westcott, and another son, the Rev. Henry Westcott, said the prayers at the grave-side, and the Rev. T. M. Middlemore-Whithard, the Bishop's schoolfellow in the Birmingham days at King Edward's, stood close at hand.

Bishop Westcott was parted from the woman he had loved in boyhood, from the "unfailing counsellor and stay" of a lifetime. The silver cord that had held these two in such close communion was loosed, the golden bowl of mortal happiness broken.

But there was to be no leaving off from work to mourn for the dead, no weakness of grief to hinder from the race that was yet to be run. Mrs. Prior, Bishop Westcott's youngest daughter, remained at the Castle, and the Bishop, looking beyond the sorrowfulness and heaviness of a night for the joy that cometh in the morning, set himself bravely to accomplish the work that was left for him to do. He had not neglected his bishopric in the few anxious weeks of his wife's illness, and he could face the appointed duties of his post undismayed by the close hand of death.

Early in June came the publication of *Lessons from Work*, the last volume of Durham Sermons and Addresses, with the dedication to the memory of his wife. At the service of welcome in Durham Cathedral, on June 3, to the Durham Volunteers, who had returned from South Africa, the Bishop was present. No responsibility was forgotten, no task omitted, in the time that remained.

On Saturday, July 20, came the annual service for the Durham miners in the Cathedral, and the Bishop fulfilled his promise and preached the sermon. A miners' band played

the well-known hymn tune, "Abide with me: fast falls the eventide," when the Bishop, with Dean Kitchin and the Archdeacon of Durham on either side, entered, for the last time, the Cathedral he loved so well.

Slight, frail, and bowed with years, was Bishop Westcott—the allotted span of three score years and ten well past, but his voice was full and clear and his words carried plainly to the great congregation. Without faltering the message was delivered, the last public utterance spoken that all might hear.

Who, of that multitude who heard the closing words of the Bishop's sermon, will forget them?—those words of simple Christian faith:—

"About eleven years ago, in the prospect of my work here, at the most solemn hour of my life, I promised that, by the help of GOD, 'I would maintain and set forward, as far as should lie in me, quietness, love, and peace among all men'; and that 'I would show myself gentle and be merciful for CHRIST'S sake to poor and needy people and to all strangers destitute of help.' I have endeavoured, with whatever mistakes and failures, to fulfil the promise, and I am most grateful to you, and to all over whom I have been set, for the sympathy with which my efforts have been met. I have been enabled to watch with joy a steady improvement in the conditions, and also, I believe, in the spirit of labour among us. Much remains

to be done; but the true paths of progress are familiar to our workers and our leaders, and are well trodden. While, then, so far I look back, not without thankfulness, and look forward with confident hope, I cannot but desire more keenly that our moral and spiritual improvement should advance no less surely than our material improvement. And, since it is not likely that I shall ever address you here again, I have sought to tell you what I have found in a long and laborious life to be the most prevailing power to sustain right endeavour, however imperfectly I have yielded myself to it—even the love of CHRIST; to tell you what I know to be the secret of a noble life, even glad obedience to His will. I have given you a watchword which is fitted to be the inspiration, the test, and the support of untiring service to GOD and man: *the love of Christ constraineth us.*

"Take it, then, my friends—this is my last counsel—to home, and mine, and club: try by its Divine standard the thoroughness of your labour and the purity of your recreation, and the Durham which we love—the Durham of which we are proud—will soon answer to the heavenly pattern. If Tennyson's idea of heaven was true, that 'heaven is the ministry of soul to soul,' we may reasonably hope, by patient, resolute, faithful, united endeavour, to find heaven about us here, the glory of our earthly life."

The sermon was over, the massed bands of the miners struck up another hymn: Westcott had taken farewell of his people. Dean Kitchin accompanied him back to the Chapter House, and said, "I'm afraid you are very tired."

"Yes," replied the Bishop, "but just as I wish to be after so splendid a gathering. I think I may now say that the Cathedral Service on Miners' Day is firmly established and will last."

Westcott returned home to the Castle to leave it no more. A week of illness followed; his life-strength slowly ebbed; each day left him weaker. For a little while, tired as he was, he made some attempt to deal with correspondence and dictate answers to letters, but on the Friday the doctors knew the end was very near.

A resolution of sympathy came from the Wesleyan Conference sitting at Newcastle, and this message of goodwill cheered the good old Bishop in those last hours. The love of the brotherhood of men was always very dear to him.

On Saturday, July 27, just before midnight, Westcott passed quietly from his work on earth, from mankind he had served so faithfully, to the rest that remaineth for the people of God.

It had been a life well lived, the full life of an exalted mind, no shadow darkening the end. With his sons and daughters gathered round, and the clergy attached to the place,

and the doctor and nurse, consciousness left him. The Psalms for the day were recited at the dying man's request, a few favourite hymns sung, till the eyes were dim and the frontiers of earth passed. As he had walked all his days with his GOD, so no doubt or fear disturbed him at that hour. Surely his LORD was with him in the valley of the shadow of death. It was the death-bed of a good man whose creed had not been so much what he had lived for as his life itself. And as this life had been sowed to the spirit, when the harvest came the reaping was to the spirit. There was no thought or word of making peace with GOD, for Westcott had never been at enmity with his GOD. He had followed the Light which lighteth every man, and in the Light was Life. "Keep innocency, and take heed unto the thing that is right: for that shall bring a man peace at the last," wrote the Psalmist, and the peace that rested upon Westcott was, of a certainty, the peace that comes at the last to the upright man of innocent and righteous life, whether he die on the scaffold or in his bed, whether his death be full of honours or of public shame.

For a few days the coffined body remained in the great entrance-hall of the Castle at Bishop Auckland, and then on Friday, August 2, came the funeral in the Castle chapel. From all parts men came to do honour to the Bishop in his burial, to pay the last tributes of love

and reverence. Canon Westcott (the Bishop's eldest son), and his brother, the Rev. Henry Westcott, Dr. Llewelyn Davies, the only surviving friend of Undergraduate days, Mrs. Hort and her eldest son, some of the Bishop's grandchildren, Church dignitaries and diocesan clergy, representatives of the Universities, of the chief Missionary Societies, of the great Nonconformist bodies, and of Durham Co-operative Societies and Miners' Associations, stood by the open grave.

Brightly the sun streamed through the chapel windows that August afternoon; the band of the Durham Light Infantry Volunteers played Chopin's Funeral March; slowly the funeral procession came from the Castle to the chapel. The Archbishop of York and the Bishops of Winchester, Rochester, Exeter, Newcastle, and Salisbury, walked in front, and they were followed by Dr. Strong, of Christ Church, Oxford, and other Examining Chaplains. Archdeacon Boutflower[1] bore the pastoral staff, and Mr. J. McClemens—an old servant of the Bishop's—the mace of the diocese. On the coffin a simple laurel wreath was laid.

"I am the Resurrection and the Life"—the opening sentence, read by the Bishop of Winchester—rang out clearly, and struck a note that sounded again and again throughout the service, and to this day recalls the memory of the resting of Bishop Westcott.

[1] Now Bishop of Dorking.

The Gospel of the Resurrection, the Gospel of Life, the GOD of the living, not of the dead, Westcott had always preached. He had turned men's minds from brooding over death to rejoicing in life—life, and life in abundance, whole, and complete, had been his message to all who would heed it. And now in the hour when the dust of the preacher—the dust that was once a man—returned to the earth, it was fitting that the thought should still be of life, and not of death; and it was well for the mourners that the triumphant feeling that mankind had acquitted itself well in Bishop Westcott, that in him it had kept faith to itself and to its GOD, that the resting was the reached goal of the course so finely run, should rise above the grief that knew only of bereavement, and echo in many hearts within that Castle chapel, in that hour of death's inheritance, the deathless words, "I am the Resurrection and the Life."

The sunshine, and the flowers on the chapel altar, and the absence of the undertaker's trappings, all helped to keep predominant the thought of life.

The hymn, "O GOD, our help in ages past," was sung; Dr. Butler, the Master of Trinity, began the Ninetieth Psalm, "LORD, Thou hast been our refuge: from one generation to another," and Dean Kitchin read the lesson from the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

Then Canon Westcott committed the body

of his father to the ground, "Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust; in sure and certain hope of the Resurrection to Eternal Life."

Another hymn, "Now the labourer's task is o'er," was sung, the Rev. Henry Westcott said the last prayers, the Archbishop of York pronounced the Benediction, and the singers chanted the *Nunc Dimittis*. The service was over, Bishop Westcott rested in the grave where but two months earlier his wife had been laid, and near by where his friend Bishop Lightfoot was buried. The congregation filed by the open tomb, for the final glimpse of the Bishop's coffin, and from the organ came Mendelssohn's, "Oh, rest in the LORD," to break the silence. There must have been some four hundred people in the chapel, for the seats had been removed to make as much room as possible, and before they had all left the organist had gone on from Mendelssohn to Handel, and the strains of the "Hallelujah Chorus" were the sounds that lingered when the chapel had been left behind for the open air—brave, vigorous human music that made those who heard it recall the glorious, invincible optimism of the Bishop, and with such good recollection leave the burial of Bishop Westcott for the world that was to see him no more. It was to see him no more, but it might still ponder his counsels and the secret of the integrity of his life. It might reflect upon that saying of Balzac's, "People who

have hearts are simple in all their ways," and upon the incorruptible treasures upon which the Bishop's heart was set. When the funeral was over, the people of Durham understood that for ten years and more they had had among them a Bishop who had served his day and generation with wonderful single-hearted devotion, who had devoted great talents of knowledge and industry to the welfare of the community, and whose character was of rare beauty. They knew him for a man not only without guile, but also without any of the vanity that disfigures many a hero. And, since they knew this of Bishop Westcott and appreciated the character of their friend, his influence did not end at his death, but it lives on in Durham—in men of vastly different habits and positions—in all who are striving for better social relations among men, for more wholesome industrial conditions, for greater honesty and higher principle in public life, and for greater sincerity and devotion in the Christian Churches.

So it is that, though death leaves us poorer by the loss of a friend, a teacher, a leader, and the loss seems irreparable, it yet happens that the work of the dead is still carried on by uncounted numbers, and the banner, dropped in death, is grasped by a thousand hands. At Westcott's own request no public memorial has been erected to his memory, but a lasting memorial to the good Bishop stands in the

men and women whom he helped to a nobler conception of life—a deeper sense particularly, of its duties and activities—by the ideals he so steadily set forth.

In the Resolutions written down in the books of various public bodies and religious and industrial societies after the Bishop's death memorials may be found too. It was, of course, to be expected that the Houses of Convocation, the Durham Diocesan Conference, the Dean and Chapter, the S.P.C.K., the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society, and the British and Foreign Bible Society should declare the loss they had sustained and pay eloquent tribute to the memory of the man who had been not only a good Bishop but a faithful friend. It was natural that the Durham Board of Conciliation for the Coal Trade, the Durham Miners' Association, and the Northumberland Miners' Association, and the Local Co-operative Societies should place on record their appreciation of the services Bishop Westcott had rendered. But it does not often happen that so earnest a Churchman as Westcott can win such praise from Nonconformists as he won. The Wesleyan Methodist Conference could declare while the Bishop lay dying—

"Your Lordship's writings have for many years been an inspiration to our ministers and people, and your latest volume has come to us as a message from our common Master."

The Sunderland Free Church Council recognized with gratitude the Bishop's "Love to CHRIST, his genuine piety, his reverent manner, his catholic spirit, his spiritual instinct, his social interest, his practical help, his ripe scholarship, and his humble bearing," and declared that "The Church Universal mourns his absence."

Collectively, through the Durham County Councils, and through the Borough Councils throughout the county, the people expressed their sorrow. The County Coroner, at an inquest at Hartlepool directly after the Bishop's death, and with him jurors and witnesses, placed on public record their desire "to testify their high appreciation of the lofty piety, the noble consistency, and the truly Christian liberality in thought, word, and deed whereby the late Dr. Westcott exalted all the infinitely great things respecting which Christian people are agreed, while exhibiting the comparatively infinite littleness of those things which are matters of difference."

The Socialists of the Darlington Independent Labour Party expressed their "deep sense of the great loss the cause of social reform has sustained by the death of Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham," and their "highest appreciation of the earnestness and zeal with which he sought to improve the social conditions of the masses."

So from far and wide men gave their stones for the cairn of the Bishop's memory.

Blessed are the dead when, with such tokens of affection, they pass from earth ; blessed are they when they rest from their labours at the close of a full life-day of toil, and there are none to breathe reproaches for wrong or injury inflicted. Blessed indeed are the dead when the old common prayer ascends from the hearts of all that the soul may rest in peace, and that light perpetual may shine upon it.

CHAPTER IX

Religious Teaching

THE basis of Westcott's religious teaching was his belief in the Incarnation of the Son of God. For him the Incarnation was the central fact of history, not caused by the fall of man, but fore-ordained from the beginning. He held that in becoming man, in dying on the Cross, and in rising from the dead, God had so revealed Himself to man that henceforth mankind had a religion which would be found sufficient for all human needs, for all holy and humble men of heart who were seeking after God, a religion which, as history told, would fulfil the spiritual desires of all men.

Over and over again, Westcott, in sermons and addresses, dwells on this belief in the Incarnation and presents it to his hearers, as the key and illumination of life. The experience of his own heart confirms the belief, and he can declare in old age : " I say without reserve, that I have found my absolute trust in the Gospel of the Word Incarnate confirmed with living power, when I have seen with growing

clearness that no phrases of the schools can adequately express its substance, or do more than help men provisionally to realize some part of its relation to thought and action; when I have learnt through the researches of students in other fields to extend the famous words of the Roman dramatist, and say, *Christianus sum, nihil in rerum natura a me alienum puto*—I am a Christian; and therefore nothing in man and nothing in nature can fail to command the devotion of my reverent study—that I have found, even in the slow and fitful progress of the Church, which still does move forward, a spring of hope, when I turn, as I must turn from time to time, to take count of the unutterable evils of great cities, and great nations, and whole continents, which wait for atonement and redemption in the long-suffering and wisdom of God."

That man was essentially religious, and must needs be seeking after God, Westcott took for granted. Again, he judged from the experience of his own heart and from his reading of history. "If we look back to the earliest, or over the widest records of human life we cannot, without setting aside the witness of history, avoid the conclusion that man is born religious. He is by his very nature impelled to seek some interpretation of his being and his conduct by reference to an unseen power."

In these words Westcott stated his premise.

Granted that man was "by his very nature impelled to seek some interpretation of his being and his conduct by reference to an unseen power," then the Christian religion gave that interpretation as no other religion could do; and the Christian religion was the belief in the coming of CHRIST the SON of GOD to dwell on earth as man—in the life, death, and resurrection of CHRIST. Miracles are essential to this religion. The virgin-birth of CHRIST is a miracle, the resurrection from the dead is a miracle, and Westcott had no inclination to explain miracles away. CHRIST the SON of GOD, in His birth, and in rising from the dead, must transcend all the known facts of life. It is not that the miracle is a violation of law, as we have noticed elsewhere. Rather, the miracle is the expression of a law at present beyond our experience. Westcott insists upon this belief in miracle; he solemnly warns us against "natural" explanations of the virgin-birth or the resurrection. It is only fitting, Westcott teaches, that, when GOD came to take human nature, He should not come quite as other men come; and that, though dying as man, He should not be subject to death.

It is easier to understand this insistence of Westcott's upon the miraculous as essential to Christianity, when we remember that it is not the character of JESUS as we have it in the Gospels, it is not the sublime teaching of the Sermon on the Mount, it is not the "sweet reasonable-

ness" of the Son of Man, that Westcott preaches, but the doctrine that the "Word became Flesh." Bishop Boutflower has told us that Bishop Westcott declared "the Sermon on the Mount is not Christianity; it is not a Gospel but a Law—the most perfect moral Law no doubt—but there is nothing in it to lift a man outside himself."

Westcott takes his stand upon the Incarnation and the Resurrection—"if CHRIST be not raised from the dead then is our faith vain." He makes no ordinary appeal for personal loyalty to the teaching of JESUS CHRIST; he rather deprecates the tone and feeling of popular hymns and devotions addressed exclusively to JESUS; neither does he urge us over-much to contemplate the character of the JESUS of the Gospels, nor greatly to ponder the recorded words of the Master. The idea of a "Life of our LORD" was hateful to him. Westcott bids us study the growth of mankind, and in such study see the hand of GOD at work, and the fruit of the Incarnation. It was impossible, Westcott held, for the Christian to observe and reflect upon the progress of mankind, and not see in that progress the illumination shed by the Incarnation. Westcott preaches, not the crucified JESUS, but a Gospel of infinite possibilities opened to mankind through the fact that GOD had become man. Man is bidden to learn more and more of GOD, and in this knowledge to find the

fuller significance of the creeds of the Church, for Westcott has perfect confidence that the creeds will endure through all time. In *Christus Consummator* he bids us—

"Cling with the simplest devotion to every article of our ancient creed, while we believe, and act as believing, that *this is eternal life, that we may know*—know, as the original word implies with a knowledge which is extended from generation to generation and from day to day—*the only true God and Jesus Christ.*"

Every fresh experience should reveal more of the truth of GOD.

"The sum of human experience grows visibly from year to year; and the Truth ought to find fresh fulfilment in every fact of life." [1]

With his belief in the exalted destiny of man, springing from the belief in the Incarnation, so constantly proclaimed, what was Westcott's teaching concerning the Atonement? Naturally he deprecates all efforts to define or limit salvation. CHRIST lived on earth and died and rose again, and in so doing brought man back into union with GOD; that is sufficient for us to believe.

"It is enough for us to remember with devout thankfulness that *Christ is the propitiation not for our sins only, but for the whole world*, without further attempting to define how His sacrifice was efficacious."

[1] *Christus Consummator.*

In the same volume—*Christus Consummator*—he speaks, further on, of the remission of sins :—

"For the most part we are tempted to look to the Gospel for the remission of the punishment of sins, and not for the remission of sins. But such a Gospel would be illusory. If the sin remains, punishment is the one hope of the sinner ; if the sin is forgiven and the light of the FATHER'S love falls upon the penitent, the punishment, which is seen as the expression of His righteous wisdom, is borne with gladness."

That men should greatly fret over fears of personal damnation, or be elated at the prospective happiness of heaven, seems to Westcott unworthy in the face of the wider hopes and fears of the race, and he shakes his head over "the blind complacency which is able to forget the larger sorrows of the world in the confidence of selfish security." He is reported to have said that an infinite prolongation of individual existence seemed to him undesirable and insupportable.

Bishop Boutflower has recalled another saying of the Bishop's, "Forgiveness is not the removal of consequences, but their transfiguration."

Though not inclined to encourage theological niceties concerning the doctrine of the Atonement, Westcott gives us in *Christus Consummator* a fairly plain account of his own point of view. To the question, "How can another's suffering

avail for my offence?—how can punishment be at once vicarious and just?" he replies, Because Humanity is one, because

"The family, the nation, the race, are living wholes which cannot be broken up by any effort of individual will." And,

"We are coming to understand why the human instinct has always rejoiced in the stories of uncalculating self-devotion which brighten the annals of every people: why our hearts respond to the words of a Chinese King, contemporary with Jacob, who said to his people, 'When guilt is found anywhere in you who occupy the myriad regions, let it rest on me the One man'; and faithful to his prayer said again, when a human victim was demanded to avert a drought, 'If a man must be the victim, I will be he'; why we do not think lives wasted which are offered in heroic prodigality to witness to a great principle: why the blood of martyrs is indeed seed, not idly spilt upon the ground, but made the vital source of a teeming harvest. We are coming to understand, in a word, what is the true meaning of that phrase 'vicarious suffering,' which has brought at other times sad perplexity to anxious minds; how it excludes everything that is arbitrary, fictitious, unnatural, external in human relationships: how it expresses the highest energy of love which takes a friend's sorrows into the loving heart, and taking them, by God's grace transfigures them."

In the *Victory of the Cross*, a small book of sermons preached in Hereford Cathedral in Holy Week, 1888, Westcott enlarges upon the doctrine of "Social Indebtedness," which is the key to his teaching on the Atonement:—

"We have only to ask ourselves what we have which we have not received in order to feel the overwhelming greatness of our debt to others. The wealth which is entrusted to our administration represents the accumulation of others' reflection. . . . Each of us in his measure is a product of all that has gone before. . . . We live through others. The sacrifice and suffering of others minister to us from the cradle to the grave."

Man is reconciled to GOD, is at one with the Almighty FATHER by the perfect life of man lived by the SON of GOD. Henceforth mankind in the Person of CHRIST dwells on the right hand of the FATHER.

To Westcott belief in the Resurrection is no less important than belief in the Incarnation. It is part and parcel of his Gospel of Life. He would not have man brood over sin and death. Not the death of CHRIST upon the Cross, but the Divine life overcoming death, is the religion by which men will become transformed into the likeness of GOD. Hence the crucifix—that common representation of a suffering GOD, that symbol of Divine martyrdom—was repugnant to Westcott. The

Cross he finds unobjectionable, nay, beautiful. But "The Crucifix" he declares in the *Victory of the Cross*, "with the dead CHRIST obscures our faith. Our thoughts rest not upon a dead but upon a living CHRIST."

Disliking the crucifix, Westcott, naturally, shrank from contemplating sin. It was said that "original sin" had no place in his theology. Certainly he is not a preacher who tells mankind of its sins and bids them repent. His belief in man is great; he loves to dwell on the advance mankind has made, and on the infinite possibilities before it. It was not that he was ignorant of the offences man committed, but his religion, his optimism, made him insist on the innate goodness of his fellows. Just as he held man, normal man, to be essentially religious, ever seeking after GOD, so he could not find in his heart that man was consciously sinful. To hear of gross offences shocked him unspeakably; to his mind there was something particularly monstrous in the notion of wilful sin. The transgressor violated Westcott's teaching; there was really no room for such in his scheme of human life. Doubtless, man in ignorance and in weakness fell far short of the Divine standard, but to believe that man wilfully set his face against the light was to undermine that belief in man which came from the belief in the Incarnation. With Browning, whose view of life Westcott so cordially approved, he could say :—

"There shall never be one lost good! What was shall live as before;
The evil is null, is nought, is silence implying sound;
What was good shall be good with, for evil, so much good more,
On the earth the broken arcs: in the heaven a perfect round."

With this faith, asceticism finds no place in Westcott's teaching. There is no belief in matter being evil; no dogmatic refinement as to good and evil; no scholastic list of sins. Origen, not Augustine, is Westcott's theological hero. S. Francis of Assisi he admires indeed, but for his real nobility of soul, his sweetness of character; and at bottom he perceived that Francis was no ascetic, but a lover of men and of God, whose love left no room for the cares of temporal things. Yet, without being in the least a Manichæan, Westcott had something of the Puritan in him. His seriousness made amusements seem too trivial things for man. He never condemns theatres or dancing, but he finds no place for them in his outlook on life. Novel-reading and games are equally outside the view. The life of study and of cheerful co-operation in all good works for the welfare of man and the glory of God is the ideal life for man, and the life in which Westcott found happiness. Without speaking evil of the common pleasures of man, he continually exhorts to the fixing of the heart on the more lasting pleasures of the soul and the mind.

Man's responsibilities are great, his inheritance is immortal; then let him seek the things that will best fit him for his great destiny.

George Eliot's *Romola* seems to have been the only novel he had a really high opinion of. The Sistine Madonna he thought the greatest picture in the world.

Granted Westcott's premise that "man is born religious," born "to seek a harmonious relation with the unseen powers—conceived of personally," as he wrote in his notes on the Epistle to the Hebrews—then his teaching, with its vigorous optimism, will be acceptable to many, and will prove wholesome and helpful. It has already so proved acceptable and helpful. But then there are to-day, as there have been in the past, many people, sincere, honest, and hard-working, who somehow cannot be included in the number of "the born religious." There are serious thinkers, men of integrity and plain uprightness, who cannot accept the belief in a personal GOD, in a FATHER to Whom every human life is precious,—for such Westcott's theological teaching has no message. He is not a preacher to the Gentiles, but to those of the Household of Faith, and this limitation must be noticed. He appeals to the *feeling* that some men have for the knowledge of GOD; but for those that are without this feeling, who say plainly that they cannot believe such knowledge possible, this appeal is vain. And here the weakness of Westcott's teaching beside that of

the preacher of "CHRIST crucified" becomes apparent. From the first centuries, through the ages, and around us to-day, men are drawn to the character of CHRIST, to the Man of Nazareth, to the story of His life. The discourses of JESUS, His Sermon on the Mount and His parables, His patience and His courage are still an inspiration to multitudes. The death on the Cross remains an act of sublime heroism. Metaphysical conceptions of CHRIST, and transcendental doctrines of Divinity, do not touch the plain average man of simple intelligence. For the weary and heavy laden, for the desolate and oppressed, there is comfort in the vision of the Man of Sorrows, there is still some measure of peace in the thought of the life laid down on Calvary. The atheist and the agnostic, the pantheist and the materialist alike, are still moved by the teaching of CHRIST, and can loyally declare that teaching to be the best rule for men, and can humbly live by it. Westcott's doctrine, though it may be acknowledged as the teaching of a high-minded, single-hearted man, does not appeal to the agnostic because it is not addressed to him, and its general waiving of guidance, in details of conduct in favour of proclaiming exalted transcendental doctrines, leaves it powerless to help average people in their everyday troubles. But it remains wholesome, bracing teaching for the converted and for the faithful.

In an old article in *The Expositor*, published as far back as January, 1887, the Rev. W. H. Simcox, M.A., pointed out an aspect of weakness in Canon Westcott's teaching which I have suggested above, and the following passage from this article may be quoted because it comes from a Christian writer whose appreciation of Dr. Westcott's work was warm and discriminating :—

"In matters of scholarship, Biblical or otherwise, Dr. Westcott has always stood ahead of his readers, and an advance in the general standard of knowledge has done nothing to discredit him ; but it is less certain that in psychology or metaphysics his judgment is more than that of an average educated man of his time. Now, such a man twenty years ago was apt to think the eternity of matter inconceivable, and the existence of a personal God a necessity of thought ; but people whose minds are active, and who know what the movement of men's minds is and has been, now know that materialism, pantheism, and atheism are things which, right or wrong, it is at least possible for serious thinkers to believe. And the incapacity here shown to do justice to the materialist point of view is the more surprising, because it is recognized how arbitrary is the line popularly drawn between 'soul' and 'body.' He who feels how hard it is to draw this line should have felt how rash it is to assume that we *feel* something intuitively,

because we *believe* it undoubtingly. To say that we have intuitive knowledge of the existence of our own souls, or the freedom of our own will, may be a true or a misleading description of the facts of consciousness: but it is at least certain that the facts so described are given in consciousness, and can be denied by no one. It is further a tenable though not an incontestable view, that we are directly conscious, as of the power to choose either a right or wrong course of action, so of responsibility for choosing the right—i.e., that the individual subject is intuitively conscious of its subordination to the universal order—to the Power, whatever it be, that is supreme in the universe. But it is not a part of this consciousness, even if it be a legitimate inference from it or from other data, that the universal or supreme Power is itself a conscious Subject, in whose image the human consciousness is made. That it is so is the postulate of Christian theology—perhaps of anything to be called a theology as distinct from mere metaphysics; and a Christian theologian may be excused in taking it for granted, when dealing only with fellow-Christians. But he weakens instead of strengthening his theological system, when he rests this postulate of theology not on what may be true reasonings, but on a false appeal to consciousness."

To sum up shortly, Westcott's theological teaching left the agnostic position untouched;

its want of practical directness left the average man unhelped in everyday conduct, and its treatment of the Atonement left it without the means to move and cheer the hearts of those simple people among us who are still comforted by the evangelical preaching of a crucified Saviour. On the other hand, Westcott's teaching put before us a noble ideal of Church and State; it encouraged the halting to hope on and hope ever, and it bade men walk upright as sons of GOD and not cringe in fear of an offended Deity; and it insisted that we must look with confidence for the life to come—here on this earth—that to doubt the future was disloyalty.

In his sacramental teaching, Westcott's dislike of defining where the things of GOD were concerned, his distrust of logical reasoning in the presence of mysteries, and his instinctive shrinking from all controversy and argument over matters of faith, mark off his standpoint from the Catholic position, as sharply as his teaching on the Atonement keeps him aloof from Evangelicalism. Certainly, Westcott held that the Holy Communion was a great means of grace for Christians, that it had been instituted by CHRIST for the perpetual refreshment of His disciples, and that in the Holy Communion the believer drew near to CHRIST and received CHRIST into his heart. But he drew back distressed from the idea of a localized Presence in the consecrated elements,

and still more from the suggestion that man should adore such a Presence. It was enough for him that CHRIST was present in the Holy Communion; to say exactly where that Presence was seemed to him dangerously near idolatry. For Westcott, "heaven was a state and not a place." At Harrow Westcott would remain at the late celebration in the school-chapel without communicating, if he had made his own communion early in the day at the parish church; and he was always anxious for a weekly communion to be instituted. At Durham he gave no sanction to perpetual Reservation of the Sacrament in the churches in his diocese. Such Reservation, indeed, he regarded as a very grave and regrettable attempt to localize CHRIST'S Presence. At the same time he allowed the consecrated elements to be carried away from church at the time of communion by one of the assisting clergy and administered to the sick, and he defended the practice as legal and primitive.

On the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist Westcott said little. He could not accept the view that "do this" meant "offer this sacrifice," and he very much disliked all announcements of the special offering of the Holy Eucharist on behalf of the dead or the living. Gently, but quite firmly, he pointed out at Durham the objectionable nature of the phrase, and induced his clergy to withdraw it. To think of friends, to remember them alive or dead, in

one's prayers, and at the Holy Communion more particularly, was seemly and beautiful, Westcott held; at the same time it was not good to try and explain the exact consequences of such prayers, or to enter into detail of the blessings desired.

"True prayer—the prayer which must be answered—is the personal recognition and acceptance of the Divine will," Westcott wrote in his notes on the Epistle to the Hebrews. Westcott, in fact, was no more a "Sacerdotalist" than he was an "Evangelical." Dr. Llewelyn Davies writes to me:—

"He (Westcott) could not be called a 'Sacerdotalist.' The last time I was with him at Auckland he mentioned that he had been looking through the New Testament to see what evidence there was of a ministerial system having been appointed for the Church in the early days, and he could find none. And what impressed him as accounting for this was the prevailing expectation of the coming of the LORD. I believe he held—as Maurice did—that the LORD 'came' according to expectation, at the end of the age; and that then the system of the Church was formed under the influence of the Spirit given to the Church."

The Priesthood was an institution of man, Westcott taught in *Christus Consummator*, devised by man in his need:—

"So it has been that men in every age have made Priests for themselves, to stand between

them and their God, to offer in some acceptable form the sacrifices which are the acknowledgement of sin, and the gifts which are the symbol of devotion. The institution of the Priesthood has been misused, degraded, overlaid with terrible superstitions, but in its essence it corresponds with the necessities of our nature."

A passage in Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero Worship* may be recalled :—

"The Priest, too, as I understand it, is a kind of Prophet ; in him, too, there is required to be a light of inspiration, as we must name it. He presides over the worship of the people ; is the uniter of them with the Unseen Holy. He is the spiritual captain of the people ; as the Prophet is their spiritual King with many captains : he guides them heavenward by wise guidance through this earth and its work. The ideal of him is, that he, too, be what we can call a voice from the unseen heaven ; interpreting, even as the Prophet did, and in a more familiar manner unfolding the same to men. The unseen heaven—the 'open secret of the Universe'—which so few have an eye for ! He is the Prophet shorn of his more awful splendour, burning with mild equable radiance, as the enlightener of daily life."

Nothing of a Sacerdotalist, Westcott was, if possible, less of a Ritualist ; a certain amount of formal respect he recognized as due to every

office, but he had no love of ceremonies in public worship, and his mind was impatient of details of ceremonial. At the same time, recognizing the latitude of the Church of England, he made no attempt at Durham to coerce High Churchmen, nor to curtail the liberties they had enjoyed under his predecessors. The very few men who, more or less frankly, preferred the doctrines and ritual of Rome to the doctrines and ritual of the Book of Common Prayer and yet remained as officiating ministers in the Established Church distressed Westcott, but he was fully aware that the great bulk of the High Church clergy, even when they adopted an elaborate ritual, and made more of the Holy Communion than their Bishop did, and recommended Confession for general use, while he only regarded it as a medicine for the sick, were at heart thoroughly loyal to the Church of England, and without positive desires for reconciliation with Rome.

Bishop Boutflower, who was for some years Westcott's Domestic Chaplain at Durham, tells us that the Bishop's conclusion concerning many of the hymns so popular in public worship was, that he could not understand what they meant, and that he didn't believe their writers could. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, he once said playfully, had done more harm to popular English theology than any other book except Milton's poetry.

So much of Westcott's life was devoted to the study of the Bible, and particularly to the study of the New Testament, that we must recall how very deep a place the Bible held in his affections. His views on inspiration were published quite early in his *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels* and remained practically unchanged. They struck a mean between the Calvinistic view, wherein the writer was nothing and the Spirit everything, and the modern view, wherein the writer was everything and the Spirit was nothing.

"Man is not converted into a mere machine even in the hand of God," Westcott declared. "Inspiration then, according to its manifestation, is dynamical and not mechanical: the human powers of the divine messenger act according to their natural laws even when these powers are supernaturally strengthened."

He found the truth to lie in a combination of the elements of truth at the bottom of the two opposing theories:—

"If we combine the outward and the inward —God and man—the moving power and the living instrument—we have a great and noble doctrine to which our inmost nature bears its witness. We have a Bible competent to calm our doubts, and able to speak to our witness. . . . It is authoritative, for it is the voice of God; it is intelligible, for it is in the language of men."

That the Bible itself must play a large part

in the religion of men and of nations Westcott held firmly. At Harrow, in 1868, in his *History of the English Bible*, he could say: "A people which is without a Bible in its mother tongue, or is restrained from using it, or wilfully neglects it, is also imperfect, or degenerate, or lifeless in its apprehension of Christian Truth, and proportionately bereft of the strength which flows from a living creed." And later life brought no modification of this point of view. The Church and the Bible, these two things were an everlasting witness to the truth of GOD; and the injury or neglect of either was the injury of Christianity. In the text of the Bible, Westcott was intensely interested. That a passage, proved to be of later date, should still retain its place in one of the books of the Bible, brought real distress to him. That those first responsible for the compiling of the Canon and for deciding what passages should be retained, could be as equally inspired in their work as the writers of the Bible were, Westcott does not admit. Yet surely when such a story as that contained in S. John's Gospel, vii. 53 to viii. 11, has been retained for all these centuries as characteristic of CHRIST, and mankind has accepted it as such, and to-day accepts it in that light, and holds the passage as containing teaching of rare beauty and value, it is beside the mark to ask us to give the passage up because it is not found in many of the earliest manuscripts.

It is of no importance whether S. John wrote the words or not, but the feeling which prompted the compilers of the Bible to rank the story as divinely inspired was a sound one, and the New Testament which omits the passage is a maimed and mutilated book.

Two anecdotes related by Bishop Boutflower throw light on Bishop Westcott's attitude to the Bible. A certain Cambridge Professor having declared that he wanted the Bible to be read just like any other book, "I have always tried to read it just like any other book," Westcott replied, "and because I have done so I have come to the conclusion that it is utterly unlike any other book in the world." On another occasion Westcott was appealed to by an ardent advocate of the circulation of the Bible in India, and his answer was not encouraging. "I'm sorry not to think it would do good; consider the desecration it would lead to! . . . They would never think of doing this with their own sacred books in the East." Yet, as a matter of fact, in recent years the sacred books of the East have been very widely published and circulated in England.

Westcott was a strong believer in Sunday observance from his youth up, and some words from a sermon he preached at S. Andrew's, Auckland, in 1894, on "The National Day of Rest," (afterwards republished in *Christian Aspects of Life*,) give us in brief his religious teaching in the matter. Though other sermons

and articles were written on the subject, they do not throw any fresh light or put Westcott's own principles any clearer :—

"An early Assyrian tablet, discovered not long since, gives an interpretation of the term which goes to the very root of its meaning. 'The Sabbath,' it says, 'is the day of the rest of the heart.' This is the thought I ask you henceforth to associate with your Church. . . . The Jewish Sabbath was a shadow to which CHRIST brought the substance. But He made clear that the old Sabbath existed in virtue of the eternal principle to which it witnessed. . . . Meanwhile, He gives to us our Sunday, the old rest-day in a new shape, to be a spring of fresh energy under the present conditions of our being, stripping off from it the heavy load of ceremonial observances with which it had been burdened and disguised. . . . He says to us : 'Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy,' in a truer sense than the punctilious Pharisee, even in the acts by which He was accused of breaking it. . . . The Sabbath is not simply in a negative sense a time in which we must refrain from work for our own gain. It is that, but it is more . . . it is emphatically the LORD'S Day, the Rest-day of the Resurrection, in which it is given to us to realize the power of the new life."

Westcott would never be drawn into public argument on religious and theological topics. At Harrow he had been anxious for a reply to

be made to *Essays and Reviews*, and that seems to have been the only time when he was willing to embark on the sea of controversy. His confidence in the Christian Religion was absolute : he believed that it was a revelation of the Truth, and that the Truth must prevail ; that sooner or later all mankind, illumined by the life that was the light of men, would come to the knowledge of the FATHER.

The world was full of difficulties : the only people Westcott despaired of were the people who thought all things were easy. But GOD was guiding the world, and therefore neither the crimes nor follies of men could delay for long the due fulfilment of all things.

CHAPTER X

Social Views and Aspirations

WESTCOTT'S interest in social questions dates from his school-days, as he frequently pointed out, but it was not till he went to Westminster in 1883 that he devoted any considerable time to such questions; and only at Durham, in the last ten years of his life, did the public think of him more as a social reformer than as a man of learning. Westcott assisted at the founding of "the Christian Social Union," and it was on C.S.U. platforms that some of the best of his social teaching was delivered, and some of his finest social aspirations were uttered.

The Christian Social Union is the offspring of that league of Radical and Socialist Churchfolk, the Guild of S. Matthew, which was founded in 1877 by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam. The C.S.U. was conceived, not in the University of Charles Kingsley, Westcott, Llewelyn Davies and Stewart Headlam, but in Oxford, and at the Pusey House. In 1889 the older members of the Oxford Branch of the Guild of S. Matthew, distressed at the democratic

sayings and doings of Mr. Headlam and the London members of the G.S.M., proposed to dissolve the University Branch and start a new and less aggressively political society. The Oxford G.S.M., however, was not to be dissolved, and Mr. Percy Dearmer, now Vicar of S. Mary's, Primrose Hill, London, and Secretary of the London C.S.U., with a few Undergraduates kept the Guild alive in Oxford for some time to come. The present Bursar of Pusey House (Rev. John Carter, M.A.), and Canon H. S. Holland, of S. Paul's, inaugurated the new society with four lectures on "Economic Morals," by the Rev. Wilfrid Richmond, at Sion College, London, in 1889, and at the first of these lectures Canon Westcott presided. Then, at a meeting in Pusey House in the November of 1889, it was decided that the new society should be called the Christian Social Union, its constitution and rules were agreed upon, and the following year Bishop Westcott became its first President. The Oxford Branch was the beginning of the C.S.U., which now numbers some 5,000 members in fifty-two branches, and has affiliated societies in the United States and in most of the Colonies. The Christian Social Union is strictly confined to communicants of the Church of England, and its objects are threefold :—

1. To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.

2. To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time.

3. To present CHRIST in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.

It was evident that the C.S.U. supplied a want. The directness, the fearless championship of democratic causes, and the want of "respectability," which marked the Guild of S. Matthew naturally made Church dignitaries frown upon that society, and the radicalism of the *Church Reformer*, Mr. Stewart Headlam's monthly paper, was not soothing to ecclesiastical authorities. In the Christian Social Union there was no taint of party politics. Conservatives, Liberals, and Socialists could meet together without being jarred. Under Bishop Westcott's presidency all Anglican Churchmen who "felt an interest in social questions" were sure of discovering congenial spirits in the C.S.U. Bishops and Deans are found in quite large numbers on the ample roll of the Union. And a very large measure of the success and popularity of the C.S.U. must be set down to Westcott's influence. From the first he threw himself heartily into its work; he insisted all along that it must never be identified with one political party in the State, or with one set of theological opinions in the Church; and the

weight of his influence was always against any definite pronouncement as to the rights or wrongs of contemporary industrial disputes, or any taking of sides in the social and economic arguments of our time. So it was that many were attracted to the C.S.U. simply because Westcott was its advocate ; others, who knew Westcott's devoted attachment to the Throne and to the Established Church, felt that under his presidency it could not become an instrument of Liberals or Radicals, and that, though good Conservatives, they were safe in joining it. Liberal Churchmen, again, who had grown up under F. D. Maurice, heard an echo of Maurice's teaching in Westcott's words, and were glad to be associated in the C.S.U. Church-people, tired of the "Church Crisis" and the attacks of Low Churchmen upon Ritualists, or a little alarmed at some of the manifestations of Catholic doctrine and feeling in the Established Church, found it a wholesome and pleasant change to have their attention turned from these things by Westcott's exalted words on Social Aspects of the Faith, and to learn from the Bishop of Durham that life and all its secular problems were of supreme importance. Unquestionably Westcott's social sermons did make controversies over "ritualism" seem a very poor and insignificant business. And then, besides these, there is always a multitude of men and women ready to join any new society

that makes no great demand upon the head or the heart, and, as the C.S.U., under Westcott's lead, from the first steadily set its face against any direct application of its principles to the social and economic needs of the time, and discouraged all plain speaking that suggested the immediate redress of social wrongs, and in fact was much more a society for enquiry than for reform; those who had neither courage, nor sympathy, nor imagination, but yet were not indifferent to the conditions of life around them could be enrolled as members of the Union, and feel they were somehow helping the good cause of human brotherhood.

In the address at Birmingham, in 1898, already referred to, there are some characteristic sentences as to the work of the C.S.U. Such a society, Westcott held, could declare an ideal more effectively than any teacher.

"It can stir an enthusiasm for righteousness —the common aim of men. It can set in action laws which are inoperative till the popular voice demands their enforcement. It can raise the standard of civic obligation. It can show that our earthly citizenship is the expression of our heavenly citizenship under the conditions of ordinary life. It deals essentially with principles and not with their application. It claims that certain problems should be dealt with, but it does not undertake their solution. This work must be left to experts. But the acknowledgement of the

need will stimulate the energy of those who can meet it."

To spread abroad certain principles and leave to time and conscience their application; to foster rather a point of view, than a definite social creed—these were Westcott's objects, and here, as in his theological teaching, he disappoints those who look for plain commands in everyday conduct. The general principles are set forth with a certain clear conviction in the addresses Westcott delivered to the Christian Social Union from 1894–1900. We are "to study social and national duties in the light of the Christian Creed." Christians are to take their full part "in preparing for the amelioration of men no less than for their conversion," and are to strive, "without impatience and without intermission, to secure the richest variety of service among citizens for the good of the commonwealth, and to make the conditions of labour for the humblest worker such that he may find in it the opportunity of a true human life."

The members of the C.S.U. are to unite "in the clear and unwavering affirmation of our principle and of our end, in the diligent prosecution of many-sided duty, and in the watchful formation of opinion." The Christian ideal is declared to be "the perfect development of every man for the occupation of his appointed place, for the fulfilment of his peculiar office in the 'Body of CHRIST'; and as a first step towards this, we are all

bound as Christians to bring to our country the offering of our individual service in return for the opportunity of culture and labour which we receive from its organization." The Christian law of life is "to realize the brotherhood and the membership of men, classes, nations, all alike offering their mature powers to the fulness of the sovereign life in which they all share according to their several capacities."

These few sentences gathered from Bishop Westcott's social addresses give the C.S.U. standpoint, and the high principles they declare are not to be gainsaid. At the same time Westcott is very careful to hedge round his disciples lest they venture out rashly to attempt to put their principles in operation.

"For the present," he reminds us, "our corporate work is not action, but preparation for action." "Legislation is the last and not the first thing in social reform." The work of the Christian reformer is that of the sower, and not that of the conqueror." In considering economic questions we are to remember that "methods of action which are most effective for production may be unfavourable to equitable distribution, and methods which provide for more equitable distribution may so limit production that employer and employed will alike suffer."

So with careful admonition the good Bishop prevented any outburst of practical effort that

would radically change our economic conditions. No word is spoken on the Land Question, for instance. If his well-balanced warnings have kept the Anglican reformers of the C.S.U. from being identified with any definite plans or proposals for the removal of our social distresses or the abolition of any particular social injustice, it must, on the other hand, be admitted that Westcott's intense earnestness to create an interest in social questions, and to arouse a sense of social responsibility, has quickened the consciences of great numbers of young men and women of wealth and education, and its fruit may be seen in the many "social settlements," the Public School-missions, and the countless clubs for boys and girls, in the poorer parts of our big cities. Westcott's social teaching has not lessened the material poverty in England; it has not visibly decreased the mass of misery; it has not added to the wages of those who live year in and year out on the borders of starvation; it has not directly affected the social movements for old-age pensions and better houses; but it has helped to bring all these things within the outlook of numbers of clergymen, University students, and Members of Parliament, and it has encouraged them to take part with others in the cause of social reform. Churchmen no longer think that social movements are outside their province, and this change of mind is due in no small degree to

the teaching of Bishop Westcott and his Christian Social Union. F. D. Maurice and the Guild of S. Matthew had earlier preached the social gospel, but Westcott and the C.S.U. made it popular in the Church of England.

Moderate as the Bishop's counsels were, there were, of course, critics who shook their heads over his teaching. Those upholders of the existing order, who look with suspicion on every suggestion that things are not altogether as well as they might be, and who scent revolutionary changes in the mildest proposals for amelioration, particularly disliked Westcott's impressive exhortations, and found them "dangerous."

His address on "Socialism" at the Hull Church Congress, in 1890, was gravely rebuked by the leading Conservative papers. That a Bishop, of all people, should have a good word for "Socialism" seemed, in those days, to savour of treachery to his order—it was positively alarming. This address was subsequently issued in pamphlet form by the Guild of S. Matthew, and was included in the Bishop's volume, *The Incarnation and Common Life*. The comparison which Westcott made at Hull between Socialism and Individualism was too clear to be misunderstood, and it presented so good a case for Socialism that its opponents had reason to protest. The kernel of the Bishop's speech was in these words :—

"Individualism and Socialism correspond with opposite views of humanity. Individualism regards humanity as made up of disconnected or warring atoms; Socialism regards it as an organic whole, a vital unity formed by the combination of contributory members mutually interdependent.

"It follows that Socialism differs from Individualism both in method and in aim. The method of Socialism is co-operation, the method of individualism is competition. The one regards man as working with man for a common end, the other regards man as working against man for private gain. The aim of Socialism is the fulfilment of service, the aim of Individualism is the attainment of some personal advantage, riches, or place, or fame. Socialism seeks such an organization of life as shall secure for every one the most complete development of his powers; Individualism seeks primarily the satisfaction of the particular wants of each one in the hope that the pursuit of private interest will in the end secure public welfare."

That Bishop Westcott was in sympathy with Socialism was only too plain, for he went on to say :—

"We wait for the next stage in the growth of the State when, in full and generous co-operation each citizen shall offer the fulness of his own life that he may rejoice in the fulness of the life of the body. Such an issue

may appear to be visionary. It is, I believe, far nearer than we suppose. It is, at least, the natural outcome of what has gone before."

At the same time Westcott looked for no violent birth-pains in the coming of Socialism. He warned his hearers that violence could destroy, but it could not construct. "Love destroys the evil when it replaces the evil by the good."

In the Diocese of Durham Westcott came in close touch with the Co-operative Movement, and for the principles and work of the Industrial Co-operative Society he expressed warm admiration. He found that "the humblest form of true co-operation" opened to the patient worker "the vision of an ideal towards which we can all strive, and in which we can all find that personal satisfaction which becomes greater when it is shared with others." The spectacle of large numbers of people united together in trade under the motto of "Each for all and all for each," possessing a store and a share in the great Co-operative Wholesale Society, seemed to Bishop Westcott to offer infinite possibilities in the direction of a better commercial system. On several occasions he attended co-operative festivals in the North, and spoke words of encouragement and advice. Westcott was anxious that men should co-operate as successfully in the production of goods as they did in the work of distribution, and "Labour co-partnership" seemed to him

to combine in the most satisfactory form the advantages of mutual responsibility and profit-sharing. At Macclesfield, in 1898, he described this "Labour co-partnership" as "the ideal union of inventors, and organizers, of capitalists, workers and consumers." The difficulties which confront co-operators; the fact that they must compete with the ordinary trader for custom, and that any serious attempt to change for the better the conditions of labour in co-operative stores and factories would so raise prices that purchasers would promptly buy elsewhere—to the ruin of the co-operative store; the constant temptation to shareholders to increase their dividend by keeping down wages and by neglecting to spend money on educational work—these difficulties were not hidden from Westcott's eyes, but his social enthusiasm and his exceeding hopefulness made him dwell rather on the brighter side of the movement.

It was the same with the trade-unions as with the co-operative societies. Here were men banded together in mutual service, primarily, it seemed to the Bishop, to help one another. That the trade-union chiefly exists to defend the workmen against the capitalist, to obtain shorter hours and higher wages when possible and to resist reduction of wages and increase of hours, Westcott would not allow. What, however, he did see, and what all might well see, is that, by combining in co-operative societies and trade-unions, workmen were

educated by the responsibilities that fell upon them, and that, in these democratic days when the government of the country is within the grasp of workmen, such responsibilities were of very first importance. All that taught men to live more socially, to rule better, to obey better, to realize their membership in the great human family, won Westcott's approval, and he was discerning enough to understand the educative work of the co-operative society, and the trade-union, and the friendly society. The Bishop met the leaders of the Miners' Associations of Durham and Northumberland, and talked with them, and he was acquainted with some of the chief men in the co-operative societies of those counties: it was impossible for him not to be impressed favourably by these men and the movements they represented.

Education, and public elementary education in especial, loom largely in Westcott's social teaching, and at Bristol in 1896, in an address to the Christian Social Union on "The Aim and Method of Education" (republished in *Christian Aspects of Life*) the ripe thought—matured by experience—of the Bishop may be read at its best. The object of education, he insists, is "To train for life, and not for a special occupation; to train the whole man for all life . . . to train *men*, in a word, and not *craftsmen*—to train citizens for the Kingdom of God." And with this object in view, "Education must be so ordered as to awaken,

to call into play, to develop, to direct, to strengthen powers of sense and intellect and spirit, not of one but of all; to give alertness and accuracy to observation; to supply fulness and precision to language; to open the eyes of the heart to the eternal of which the temporal is the transitory sign."

Westcott dwells on the supreme importance of the personal element in education.

"Faith and love and religion can only be taught by those who possess them. The teacher, indeed, communicates himself, and then perhaps most effectively when he is off his guard. Thus his moral teaching will be for the most part indirect: on the one side an awakening of the sense of responsibility, and on the other a welcome of something which is felt to belong to the true self. His final appeal will be not to ambition, not to self-interest, but to love."

The fullest education for all was Westcott's programme. "The right use of leisure," he maintains, "is an object of education not second—this is, you remember, the judgment of Aristotle—even to the right fulfilment of work."

"Education is, so far as it is true, of the whole life by the whole life. The highest is for all in CHRIST, and not for any privileged class. . . . When we narrow our aim, we wrong our faith."

For Bishop Westcott's teaching on the subject

of Temperance we cannot do better than turn to a sermon preached in Durham Cathedral, at a festival of the Diocesan Temperance Society in 1898. The case against intemperance is found to be stronger than the arguments of the ordinary teetotaler suggest.

"Objects in themselves good," the Bishop points out, "impulses in themselves generous, occupations in themselves healthy may be pursued intemperately. There is an intemperance in work as well as in amusement; in energy as well as in slackness; in lofty speculation as well as in vacancy of thought."

The preacher believes it necessary to touch on these wider aspects of the subject, because "the popular limitation of intemperance to one special form of excess seems in many cases to lead to a false complacency. A man may be moderate in the use of intoxicating drinks, or a total abstainer, and yet be fatally intemperate, a helpless slave to the pursuit of money or of power, or of reputation. Such forms of intemperance, though they often win the praise of the multitude, are ruinous to a noble character."

When the discussion is confined to intemperance in drink, it is found that the vice cannot commonly be isolated.

"It is a representative form of a large class. It exhibits in a coarse and repulsive shape, that craving for excitement by which we are all assailed. The same restless passion for fresh

sensations dominates our amusements and our literature. Manly games are made opportunities for gambling. Startling incidents and morbid studies of extravagant situations and persons are characteristic of popular books. Intemperance of this kind is perilous everywhere. It destroys the power of calm thought. It dulls the apprehension of the quiet joys of the passing day. It exhausts the tired worker when he needs refreshment. It grows by indulgence, and yet, for the most part, it is uncondemned and unnoticed."

Without disparaging in the slightest degree the attempt to promote temperance by legislation, Westcott urges that legislation must depend for its strength upon the public opinion at the back of it, and that public opinion had yet to be turned more completely against intemperance. The remedy, he declares, is recognized in S. Paul's words: "Be not drunken with wine, wherein is riot, but be filled in spirit." The remedy must be religious, the full occupation of the mind in higher pleasures and interests. Himself a total abstainer from tobacco, and from all alcoholic liquors in later life, Westcott never preached Total Abstinence as a Gospel. He gave up his moderate glass of wine because the thing was obviously a cause of offence to many of his fellows, and because he hated spending money on anything that amounted to a personal luxury; but at the same time

he was the last man to bind fresh burdens on the consciences of people, or to add to the law and so to the possibilities of its transgression by making a new commandment, "Thou shalt not drink." At Durham he pleaded publicly for "pure beer," and for a reformed public-house, where good beer and non-intoxicants could be obtained. The Bishop's good, pure beer was to consist of "barley, malt and hops only, no chemical or other injurious substitute for malt being used."

Westcott, as we have seen, took no part in party politics, and never appeared on a political platform in his life; but he would occasionally throw himself into the agitation for or against some political measure, that seemed to him of national importance, with tremendous energy. And the Welsh Suspensory Bill, introduced by the Liberal Government in 1893, was just one of those measures that provoked him to speak. He hated the idea of Disestablishment because it seemed to him a disintegrating movement—a National Church helped to keep a nation together—and because it involved a violent break with England's past. To Westcott, a nation that had no National Church was as imperfect as the man who had no conscious belief in a Personal God; its patriotism would suffer. And yet the United States and the Colonies stood before him as examples of countries that without an Established Church were lacking neither in religious feeling, nor

yet in that self-love we call patriotism. In a speech at a great Church Defence Meeting, at the Albert Hall, London, in May, 1893, Westcott insisted that Disestablishment implied the non-recognition of religion as an essential element in man. "I am a Churchman. . . . But I am a citizen also, a citizen of no undistinguished Nation; and I fear lest through impatience, or wilfulness, or ignorance, we may, in a brief moment of excitement, allow a motley combination of adversaries to secularize our national life as national, and to discard that which has been the moulding, inspiring force of England. . . . For if the National Church ceases to be national—national as accepting the pastorate of the whole people and expressing generally their spiritual convictions—no other Communion can take its place. No other organ can be found through which the Nation can declare its faith. No concurrent endowment can guard the truth which it embodies. . . . The question is whether the State shall openly declare that religion is not an accident of humanity, but an essential element in every true human body."

Many other speeches were delivered in various parts of the country in defence of the Welsh Establishment, until the defeat of the Liberals in 1895 removed the question from immediate politics. Although Westcott mainly opposed Disestablishment on the ground that it was a blow to the nation, and never suggested

by his words that Church Defence meant the defence of Church property, he could at times be moved to a eulogy of the National Church, when its position was assailed.

At a Diocesan Conference, in 1895, in an address on the Duties of the National Church to Christendom, the Bishop adopts the remarkable line that the Church of England is eminently fitted to heal the divisions of Christendom.

"It is obvious that the English Church, by its constitution, by its history and by its character, is fitted to be a mediator between the divided societies of Christendom. It has points of contact with all. It has never broken with the past, and it stands open to the future. On the one side it has affinities with the ancient Churches of the East and West by its jealous maintenance of the historic Episcopate; on the other side it has affinity with the non-episcopal Churches of the Reformation by its appeal to the Scriptures as containing all things that are required of necessity to salvation. . . . Outward reunion of the English Church with the Roman Church as it is now would, as far as I can judge, postpone indefinitely the reunion of Christendom. . . . The teaching of the past shows that the principle and the beginnings of reunion are to be sought from within and not from without."

Westcott held strong views on the progressive character of the English Church, of its historic position; and these views naturally made him

oppose all proposals for the separation of Church and State. At Jarrow, in 1896, he dwelt on the continuity of England, and of its National Church.

"England stands unique among the nations for the continuity of its life through a thousand years, which no vicissitudes of dynasty have interrupted. We have passed through great revolutions — the last and greatest in the present century silent and often unnoticed — without breaking with the past. . . . It is the same Church as it was three hundred or five hundred or a thousand years ago in the sense in which the nation is the same nation. . . . In a most true sense the Reformation of the English Church is a continuous and unending process. . . . We are charged to shew the vitality of our faith by its power to meet new circumstances. . . . We shall avoid equally a rigid maintenance and a hasty abandonment of traditional forms."

The point to be noted in these various addresses is that Westcott in his defence of the Establishment stands very far away from the ordinary Conservative who resists Disestablishment because he regards it as an attack on the existing social order, an interference with the rights of property. Westcott holds that the nation will suffer if Disestablishment is effected, and, though the Church may suffer through its connexion with the State, Westcott, loyal Churchman though he was, could have borne

more easily an injury to the Church than an injury to the nation.

From the question of Disestablishment let us turn to Westcott's teaching on War, Imperialism, and Patriotism. As far back as 1870, the Franco-German War drew Canon Westcott at Peterborough to speak words for international peace, and at Westminster, he took an active part in the formation of a Christian Union for Promoting International Concord, presiding over the deliberations of a committee which urged a reduction of armaments throughout Europe. In later life he attended some meetings of the Parliamentary Peace Congress in London.

Preaching at Hereford in 1888, Westcott declared he would not disguise his horror at the spectacle of an armed continent. At Darlington, nine years later, at a meeting of the Peace Society, he said that, as slavery had been done away, they might also look confidently for the suppression of war.

At S. Margaret's, Westminster, in May, 1899, in a remarkable sermon on "International Concord," he urged that war must be only regarded as a "transitory necessity." The fact that war had always existed was no proof that it would always continue in the future. A general tendency to substitute reason for force in the settlement of all differences between men, was to be noticed. And the business of

Christians was "to check in ourselves and in others every temper which makes for war, all ungenerous judgments, all presumptuous claims, all promptings of self-assertion, the noxious growths of isolation and arrogance and passion." Then a few months later came the war with the Boers, and it was inevitable that a restatement of opinions had to be made. The belief in England and in England's mission, the belief of a lifetime—could not dissolve before the fact that England was engaged in a war which many of Westcott's friends held to be unjust. The Bishop was seventy-five; all his life he had loved his country with a whole heart; his eyes saw a great future before the Empire; he could not in old age declare England wrong. The Boers must be to blame for the war, and grounds must be found for supporting the British Government, for Westcott had too keen a sense of his public responsibility to refrain from speech when all England was affected by the issue. And so at the Church Congress, at Newcastle, in 1900, Westcott, who had spoken of war as a thing to be suppressed as slavery had been suppressed; who had declared that violence could destroy but could not construct; who had pleaded for the reduction of armaments in the interest of International Peace; now found that a case must be made out from the Christian point of view in favour of war. Slowly and carefully he delivered his defence, and, like all his

public speeches, it is argued from a position taken after much thought and deliberation. War must still be inconsistent with the ideal of Christianity; but was it inconsistent with the profession of Christianity in a world where violence, wrongs, and selfish ambition, both in men and nations, had to be dealt with? No, said the Bishop, emphatically; for "the supreme end which is proposed to us is not peace, but righteousness." War, a just war, was but force, and force was necessary if right was to be upheld. The Christian was bound to acknowledge, he held, that war was "an ultimate means for maintaining a righteous cause." All government plainly rested on force. "The machinery of settled government worked so smoothly that we forgot that the execution of justice between man and man rested in the end on force," that "armed forces stood behind the judge" in courts of law. Granted that force was necessary for righteousness, and that the Boers were the enemies of righteousness, then the war in South Africa must be supported.

The Church Congress accepted the Bishop's teaching, and many who had followed events in South Africa with misgiving felt relieved. Westcott's wide influence carried thousands with him against the Boers, and the bulk of the Christian Social Union members followed their President in loyal support of the Government, and in defending the prosecution of the war.

"Imperialism" became the new cry, and nothing more was said about peace. Henceforth Imperialism filled the chief place in the programme of the "social reformers" of the Christian Social Union, and the colonies became an object of enthusiastic admiration. It was inevitable that Bishop Westcott should applaud Imperialism—that is, British Imperialism. With Mr. Meredith's "Old Chartist" he might have said

"Old England is my dam, whate'er I be!"

In early days at Westminster he had described patriotism as "the love of our country, the intense watchful interest in the growth or the waning of its influence, the passionate desire that it may be made a herald of peace and of righteousness," and he had insisted that this love of country did "lie deep in the souls of all of us."

And he had been conscious in those days of "that spirit of larger, deadlier, self-assertion, miscalled patriotism, which tempts us to think that the power of a nation is the power of dictation and not of service, and that every failure must be washed out in blood."

The love of England, and an innate and unconquerable aversion from dwelling on defects and shortcomings, made Westcott rejoice in an increase of British influence in the world, and Imperialism promised such an increase.

Imperialism, to Westcott, meant the spread of British views and opinions, and a closer

union of British subjects. A sermon preached in London, at All Saints', Tufnell Park, in November, 1900, was devoted to the matter, and it contained in one memorable passage the substance of all that he held and taught about the theory of Empire :—

"Imperialism is the practical advocacy of a fellowship of peoples with a view to the completeness of their separate development, a wide federation for the realization in the members of their special character. An Empire is a union of self-governing or subject States under one supreme authority, held together by an ideal more or less clearly recognized by all, guarded by an adequate organization for common defence, of which the ultimate aim is the welfare and relative completeness of all the bodies which are included in it. The prospect of increased power or material advantages, though it may assist in a secondary degree in creating or maintaining an Empire, does not belong to the essence of it."

The statement in the last sentence was needed, as Westcott knew, but was it heeded ? Is it heeded to-day ? To help send abroad a passionate stream of sentiment for Empire was one thing ; to guide the direction of that stream in a well-ordered course was another, and a harder, task.

Bishop Westcott died before the South African War was over, and his words on Empire and Imperialism mark the close of his teaching.

Yet we cannot end this book without recalling some of his gentler and humaner teaching; for Westcott, was really in heart and life, the humanest and kindliest of men. "The flower torn up and thrown upon the ground, the sea-bird shot upon the wing in the wantonness of skill, the dog tortured in vain curiosity" showed the same temper, he said (in a sermon at Sedbergh, in 1896), and that temper he abhorred. Nature he loved, and little children, and he was kindly in his bearing to all men. "There can be no understanding without love," and, because Bishop Westcott had a great love for his fellows, therefore the measure of his understanding was a full one. All that was valuable in his social teaching sprang from love, and so must bear fruit as long as love shall live among the children of men.

APPENDIX

Some Recollections of Westcott by the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies.

WHILE this book was being written Dr. Llewelyn Davies sent the writer several letters relating to its subject, and forwarded many others received from Westcott himself; the latter had in the main already appeared in the *Life and Letters of Bishop Westcott*. Dr. Davies's recollections are of particular interest because of the lifelong friendship he enjoyed with Westcott. I am indebted to them for many things recorded in this book. From the letters I have made a selection.

The first letter deals chiefly with Westcott's relation to F. D. Maurice and his introduction to the works of Robert Browning :—

"You are quite right in regarding Westcott's theology as substantially Maurician. I send you a few short letters from which you will see that Westcott and I were not only friends but intimate friends. In the same year at Trinity there were four of us—Westcott, Scott, Vaughan, and I, who were drawn together not only by common interests, but by serious religious convictions. Scott, who became Head Master of Westminster School, died a short time before Westcott. David Vaughan still lives.[1] In his later years the Bishop made several efforts to bring us four together at Bishop Auckland, with only partial success.

"Westcott never said it to me, but he told a friend who

[1] Canon Vaughan has entered into his rest since these words were written, and Dr. Llewelyn Davies remains the survivor of the four.—J. C.

told me, that he had deliberately refrained from reading Maurice, in order that his own development might be the more independent. We did not know at Cambridge of this purpose of his, but it explains what was sometimes rather unintelligible to us. There were several writers of the day who interested one or more of the other three of us—Maurice, Browning, Ruskin, Comte—whom Westcott seemed to put aside.

"Maurice was at that time, from 1845 onwards, made known at Cambridge by the Macmillans, especially Daniel, the elder of the two. Daniel Macmillan talked of Archdeacon Hare and Maurice to any of us who would listen to him. I became a devoted disciple of Maurice, and David Vaughan was nearly as much attracted by him.

"Scott happened to become possessed of Browning's *Bells and Pomegranates*, and lent the book to me; from which loan I date my lifelong delight in Browning.

"Some volumes of Comte came into Vaughan's hands, and excited his interest keenly; and it was through him I gained such knowledge of Comte as I have had.

"I do not remember how we came to know Ruskin.

"With all these Westcott came into close contact at later points of his life, and each of them excited a sudden enthusiasm in him.

"With regard to Maurice the enthusiasm was not so marked. When Maurice went to live as Professor at Cambridge, Westcott admired him personally with the reverence which nearly all who knew him felt for Maurice; and after his death he read his Life. You will see that in the letter dated March 28, 1884, he writes to me:—

"'For the last week I have spent my leisure on Maurice's Life. I never knew before how deep my sympathy is with most of his characteristic thoughts. It is most refreshing to read such a book—such a life.'

"In the year before Bishop Lightfoot's death I was spending a day or two with him; and he asked me one evening if I remembered occupying the same bedroom with him in Switzerland and talking about Browning till we

fell asleep. That was his introduction to Browning, and he went on to tell me that Westcott, coming into his rooms at Cambridge one day, and waiting some time for him, took up a volume of Browning that lay on the table, and exclaimed about it with astonished admiration when Lightfoot returned. Westcott—as you know—became one of Browning's enthusiastic expositors.

"How Westcott was introduced to Comte, I do not remember; but he also wrote about Comte with warm admiration of much of his doctrine. In the note dated Harrow, March 12, 1867, he says, 'I have been spending all my leisure—how little!—for the last nine months on Comtists. How marvellous that it should be left for them to rediscover some of the simplest teachings of Christianity!'

"So, by some process of which I have no knowledge, Westcott became, long after our Cambridge time, an ardent admirer of Ruskin.

"It will probably occur to you, especially after reading some of the letters to me, that it was not possible for Westcott to isolate himself from the theology of Maurice by not reading his books. His inner circle of friends was full of that theology and he could not help becoming acquainted from his early Cambridge days with the formative ideas of it. I, for one, was always Maurician; and Westcott and I almost always agreed with one another; of which you will see some evidence in these few letters."

In a second letter Dr. Llewelyn Davies refers to Westcott's disinclination for amusements, and his attitude towards the Roman Catholic Church :—

"I suspect Westcott never went to a theatre, and I feel sure he did not read many novels. I should not put this abstinence down to 'Puritanism' so much as to the extreme seriousness of his disposition and his life.[1] I never knew any one who so filled all his time for so many years with laborious occupation. His holidays when he was at Harrow

[1] But surely this "extreme seriousness" is the very essence of "Puritanism"?—J. C.

were given to his Divinity work. I think that at Cambridge he played at no games. (But at Auckland he was credited with having a taste for mechanical toys; and his friends would send him any that they thought ingenious and amusing. And he would relax with young people. I have played with him at a sort of bowls in a corridor of Auckland Castle).

"You are right that 'the ritual and claims of Rome did not appeal to him.' He could not be called a 'sacerdotalist.' But, though Rome never had any attraction for Westcott, he had a great knowledge of architecture, and did architectural drawing very well; and I have no doubt he was a good Ritualist in the sense of being well acquainted with Rituals. His knowledge was astonishingly varied and comprehensive; he seemed to know something about everything, whilst his learning in all branches of Divinity was quite extraordinary."

In the same letter Dr. Davies refers to Westcott's politics, and to the influence of his books with Nonconformists :—

"No, Westcott was never a Liberal. Though I knew this, I was surprised once to find that he admired Disraeli as a statesman.

"Westcott and Dale of Birmingham mutually admired each other, and they sympathized warmly in theological views; but I do not know whether Dale regarded himself as a disciple of Westcott—probably not. Westcott is not very 'readable,' but he is in a less degree a writer for the few than Maurice; and I should think that amongst the English Dissenters and in Scotland Westcott has had a most beneficial influence."

In another letter Dr. Davies mentions Westcott's period of "doubt," and gives some late reminiscences :—

"I feel sure that Westcott's faith was never seriously shaken by doubts. His position, after—and I daresay during—his earlier days at Cambridge, was that represented by the old saying *omnia exeunt in mysterium*. He would say

that he could not believe anything to be profoundly true if it did not carry the mind into the incomprehensible.

"After our Undergraduate time and a year or two after, I never saw him for more than a day or two at a time. A purer and more saintly soul it has not been given to me to know. When he paid me short visits here, two or three things struck me: his love of flowers (he liked to keep them as memorials, and would dig up flowers and take them to plant in the Auckland garden); his knowledge of bridges as well as other ancient buildings; we have a beautiful bridge (at Kirkby Lonsdale), and Westcott seemed to be sure of its date, and to be acquainted with all the bridges in the diocese; his reverence for George Fox, whose memory is rather specially associated with the neighbourhood of Sedbergh; we went together to see one of the two oldest Quaker Meeting Houses in England."

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